THE MIKHAILOVICH MYTH

by STEVEN DEDIER and TONY MINERICH

NEW MASSES

DECEMBER 22, 1942 15c in Canada 20c

WHAT'S BLOCKING OUR HEALTH PROGRAM?

THE HIERARCHY OF THE A.M.A. OBSTRUCTS
THE WAY TO A SOUND, STRONG NATION

by JOHN A. KINGSBURY

IN NM'S SPOTLIGHT:

OUR DEBT TO RUSSIA
by REP. ELMER J. HOLLAND

MYSTERY IN TUNISIA
by COLONEL T.

FARM BLOC FINAGLINGS
by BRUCE MINTON

HOW TO HELP EUROPE'S JEWS
by THE EDITORS

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: LT. COMMANDER CHARLES S. SEELY, RICHARD O. BOYER, KATHERINE ANNE PORTER, R. PALME DUTT, UPTON SINCLAIR.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

INTRODUCING . . .

A SPOTLIGHT lights up dark corners of the stage, the skies, or the world in general. That's the function of our new department, "The Spotlight." In this section of the magazine, from week to week, you'll find your old favorites—interpretation and comment, some by guest editors (like Rep. Elmer J. Holland this week); reports from those watchtowers of the world, Washington, London, and Moscow; Colonel T.'s military commentary. When you've finished reading "The Spotlight" you SHOULD know what's happened in the world the week past. If you don't, it won't be because we haven't tried to tell you.

This issue of NM reintroduces Richard O. Boyer (who really doesn't need an introduction), former editor of "US Week," contributor to "PM" and the "New Yorker." Dick will write a bi-weekly column called "If This Be Reason" (see page 20), and will welcome reader discussion and criticism of his ideas. In case you're wondering what will happen in off-weeks when Dick is mulling over new ideas, his space will be taken by editor Joseph North.

The editorial by Congressman Holland on page 7 is from his recent speech at a Russian War Relief meeting in Pittsburgh, and is reprinted as a guest editorial with his permission.

VITO MARCANTONIO

Those of you who came to our dinner on November 28 and ate the chicken and fixings were introduced to our new board of contributing editors. Those of you who couldn't make it will be introduced to them in the pages of our magazine.

Let's take first things first. It isn't every

magazine in the country that can boast a congressman on its contributing board. NM is the only magazine. And it isn't every congressman in the country who can boast the record our congressman possesses. In fact there's only one Vito Marcantonio.

For Marc is the people's anti-fascist champion in the halls of Congress. He defended the people who demonstrated aboard the Nazi "Bremen"; he spoke for republican Spain; he speaks against Mussolini and his gangsters who have plundered and murdered his own Italian people; he supports progressive legislation and his strong and authoritative voice is heard against every attempt of the reactionaries to narrow and limit the people's liberties.

That's the sort of congressman the people of America have in Vito Marcantonio. That's the sort of contributing editor NM has acquired. We're proud of him; we hope he'll always be proud of us.

PEOPLE'S POET

The memory of Sol Funaroff, NM contributor and people's poet, is still green. To keep it green we take this opportunity to invite you all to a memorial meeting for Sol—which will take place at the Zemach Studios, 430 Sixth Avenue, this Friday night at 8:30 PM.

Held under the auspices of the League of American writers, the memorial meeting will be addressed by Samuel Sillen, NM's literary editor, who will discuss Sol's work and the general problem of the progressive writer. Joy Davidman, distinguished poet herself, will read selections from the forthcoming Viking "Anthology of War Poetry of the United Nations." Anna Sokolow will present a dance adopted from Sol's poem "The Exiles," Josh White will sing "Mean Man Blues," last published poem of the late poet, and two other American poets will be present—Isidor Schneider, as chairman; Alfred Kreymborg, who will read.

No admission will be charged.

CALENDAR

This Sunday afternoon NM presents the first of three Sunday afternoon lecture forums on Earl Browder's book,"Victory—and After." The time is 2:30; the place, Hotel Claridge (44th St. & Broadway). Speakers: Robert Minor, Joseph Selley, George Murphy, A. Landy, Dr. Bella Dodd, Morris Schappes, Richard O. Boyer, Frederick V. Field and A. B. Magil. It will cost you 50c a lecture or, if you're economical-minded, $1.25 will cover all three (we recommend this procedure). Titles of the three forums: "Hitler's Secret Weapon"; "Planning for Victory," and "Essence of Victory: The United Nations."

If you've always wanted to dress as Marie Antoinette (complete with cake), Mephistopheles, or Jeanne d'Arc (or Karl Marx, for that matter), you'll attend NM's New Year's Eve ball at Webster Hall. Time: New Year's Eve, naturally. Price: $1.10 now; $1.65 at the door. There will be two dance bands—Chuck Davis and his Kansas City Swing, and a rumba-band, Los Troubadores Habaneros. The Negro Dance Theater will present a program of Boogie-Woogie (company of ten), and the floor show will also include Josh White and Anne Robinson, who is a "scat" singer, whatever that is. Tickets at: NM, Workers' Bookshop, Bookfair (133 West 44th Street), and Russian Skazka (17 Barrow Street).

NEW MASSES
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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

LIONEL BERMAN
ALVAH BESSIE
RICHARD O. BOYER
JOY DAVIDMAN
BELLA V. DODD
R. PALME DUTT
RALPH ELLISON
WILLIAM GROPPER
ALFRED KREYMBORG
VITO MARCANTONIO
FREDERICK MYERS
SAMUEL PUTNAM
PAUL ROBESON
ISIDOR SCHNEIDER
HOWARD SELSAM
SAMUEL SILLEN
JOSEPH STAROBIN
MAX YERGAN
ART YOUNG

EDITOR: JOSEPH NORTH. ASSOCIATE EDITORS: FREDERICK V. FIELDS, BARBARA GILES, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, JOHN STUART, HERBERT GOLDFRANK. WASHINGTON EDITOR: BRUCE MINTON. EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: MARJORIE DeARMAND. BUSINESS MANAGER: CARL BRISTEL.

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SPOTLIGHT

PRODUCE FOR VICTORY

Two encouraging facts stand out in President Roosevelt's seventh quarterly lend-lease report: lend-lease aid to the United Nations was more than one-third greater than in the previous quarter and four times the total for the three months preceding our entrance into the war; and by the end of this month our expeditionary forces in all parts of the world will total more than 1,000,000 men—just about double the rate at which men were transported to France in the same period during the first world war.

Not all is bright, however, in the lend-lease picture. Though the current rate of lend-lease spending is about $10,000,000,000 a year, this is still only fifteen percent of the expenditures on the total United States war program. To this must be added approximately another twenty percent of war materials purchased by our allies in this country. Yet in view of the fact that we are bearing as yet only a very small part of the burden of actual combat, one wonders whether by sending thirty-five percent to our allies and retaining sixty-five percent for ourselves we are making the best possible distribution of our available supplies.

MORE disturbing than this, however, is the decline in the proportion of lend-lease assistance to the nation that is still doing the major share of the fighting, the Soviet Union. The preceding lend-lease report on September 14 stated that thirty-five percent of lend-lease assistance was going to Britain, thirty-five percent to Russia, and thirty percent to the Middle East, Australia, etc. One month later this had shifted as follows: forty percent to Britain, thirty-nine percent to the Middle and Far East, and only twenty-one percent to Russia.

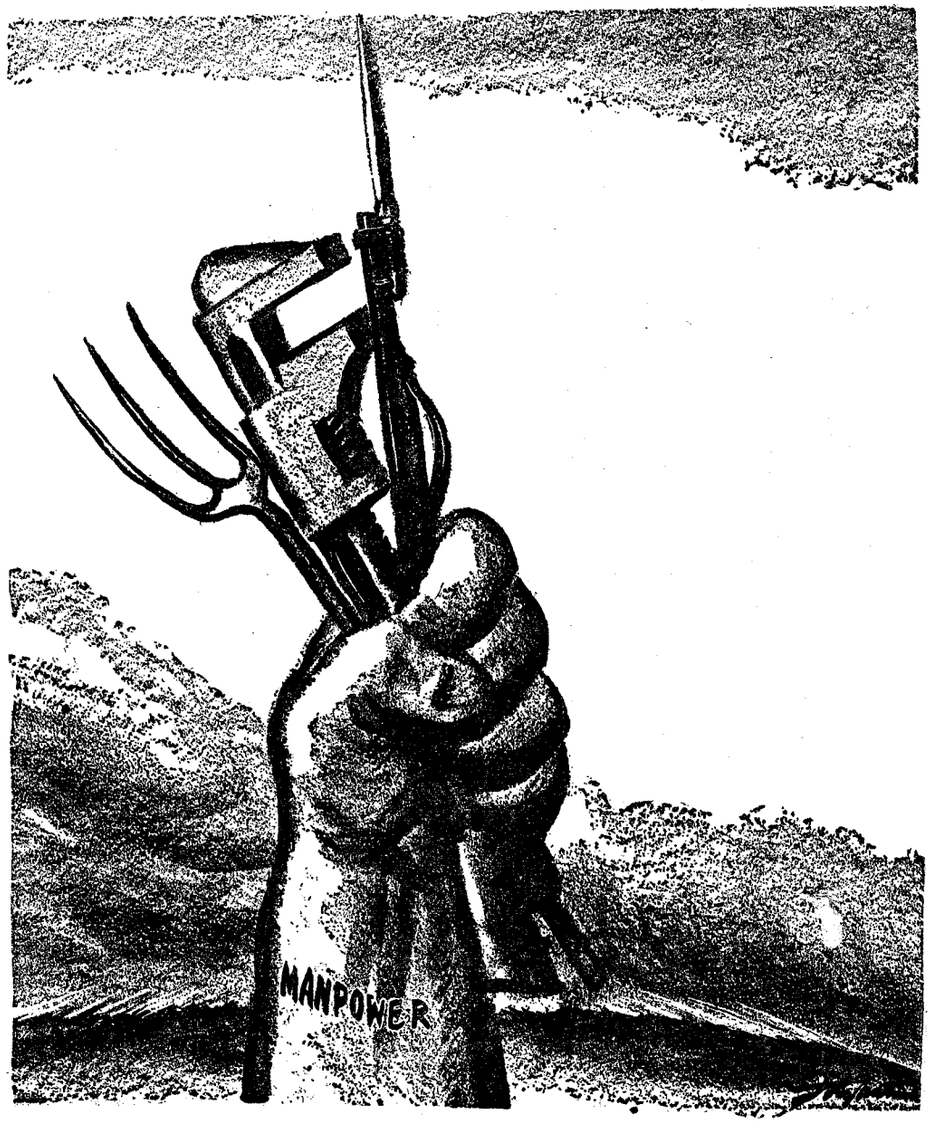
IT IS quite true, of course, that there are many difficulties in shipping goods to Russia. Yet allowing for these, the fact that we are sending to the USSR only little more than half the lend-lease aid that is going to the Middle and Far East (of which China, incidentally, is getting only the merest trickle) does seem out of gear with our basic strategy of regarding Nazi Germany as our main enemy and Russia as our main front.

IN HIS accompanying letter transmitting the lend-lease report to Congress President Roosevelt said: "The Axis powers have, temporarily at least, lost the initiative. We must do all we can to keep them from regaining it."

There is only one way to accomplish that—and that is to strengthen the first front in Russia and without delay to develop the present embryonic second front in North Africa and Britain into the actual invasion of the European continent. Such a two-front war will annihilate Nazism.

TRUTH ABOUT LABOR

AT THE recent convention of the National Association of Manufacturers several speakers sounded off to the effect that strikes "have continued and are still very seriously affecting our war effort." The gentlemen knew, of course, that they were talking through their hats. Now comes proof from the Office of War Information. The OWI reports that during the first year of our participation in the war the percentage of



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

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time lost in war industry from strikes has never exceeded one-tenth of one percent of the number of man-days worked.

UNDERSECRETARY OF WAR PATTERSON the other day gave comfort, perhaps inadvertently, to the NAM crusade against the Wage-Hour Law when he urged a forty-eight-hour week in all war and non-war industry. This, he said, would make possible the present volume of production with 1,500,000 fewer workers. The fact is that, as President Roosevelt recently pointed out, war industry is for all practical purposes already on that basis. The AFL monthly survey for November reports the following working hours: instruments and fire control equipment, 51; machine tools, 50.9; textile machinery, 49.4; firearms, 49; aircraft engines, 47.9; aircraft and parts, 47.3; shipbuilding, 46.8. As for the non-war industries, nothing prevents a forty-eight-hour week except the unwillingness of employers, despite fancy profits, to pay time-and-a-half for all hours worked over forty.

Actually, the solution of the manpower problem does not lie primarily in lengthening the work week, but in a better utilization of the existing labor supply through the abolition of all discrimination against Negroes, women, and the foreign-born, the extension of training programs, and above all, the proper planning of the entire production program under centralized control of our war economy, as is proposed in the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bills. The new order issued by the War Manpower Commission designed to stabilize the employment of some 700,000 workers in the Detroit area is a constructive step forward. Pirating of workers is forbidden, employers must utilize local labor rather than bring in workers from the outside, workers must be employed at their highest skills, and industry must establish programs of training, upgrading and apprenticeship.

★

How long will Attorney General Biddle be allowed to go around throwing sand into the wheels of our war effort? We ask apropos the latest manifestation of Biddleism, the arrest of state Sen. Stanley Nowak of Michigan on a charge that he was a member of the Communist Party and therefore an advocate of the overthrow of government when he received his final citizenship papers five years ago.

Nowak is about to serve his third term in the Michigan Senate, having been elected on the ticket of Attorney General Biddle's own party, the Democratic Party. Besides his services in the legislature, where he has become known as its outstanding champion of win-the-war policies, he has won wide influence as an organizer of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) and a leader of the American Slav Congress, whose committee to combat the fifth column is headed by him. Of course all this is, in the eyes of Hitler and Martin Dies —and evidently of Biddle too—*prima facie* evidence of membership in the Communist Party. And by the same twisted logic Biddle is repeating the canard he wrote into his infamous decision in the Bridges case that the Communist Party believes in the overthrow of the American government by force and violence.

THIS would be bad enough in peace time. In the midst of this toughest war in history it is invaluable service to the enemy. If Biddle's obedient grand jury, which handed down the indictment against Senator Nowak, can get away with it, what Democrat (except the poll taxers), or Republican, for that matter (except the Hamfishes), will be safe? We suggest some emphatic opinions from average Americans directed to the office of Attorney General Biddle.

★

HENRY LUCE, publisher of *Life, Time,* and *Fortune,* has been working so hard at being a liberal that sometimes the strain begins to show. Only a few weeks ago *Life* lectured the British people and told them what they should and shouldn't do, and threatened that if the British people didn't behave, America would walk out on the war. The latest issue of *Life* plies the needle two ways: at another great ally, Russia, and at our own national unity. The magazine's editorial starts off with the usual technique of the phony: fulsome praise of the Soviet Union. It points out that "Mother Russia is not only big geographically, she is big in terms of human development. The *effectiveness* of the Russians is one of the surprises of our time." And *Life* admits that this effectiveness is not limited to warmaking, but that Soviet Russia "has done a spectacular job in the fundamental business of increasing the horizons of her citizens. And for the little people of the earth that fact has glamour too."

In fact, too much glamour, as far as the reactionary *Life-Time-Fortune* crowd is concerned. Lest anybody be tempted to draw obvious conclusions from the contrast between czarist-capitalist Russia and socialist Russia, *Life* unlooses a blast at—the American Communist Party. American Communists "are Russia's own worst enemies" and ought to fold up. *Life,* which only a year and a half ago was spreading the "Communazi" lie about Russia and which predicted the collapse of the Red Army under the Nazi invasion, sets itself against a policy embodied in a recent memorandum of Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles. In that memo Welles declared that unity of all groups in China, including the Communists, unity within the United States and the United Nations was "utterly desirable." But it is not only against the American Communists that *Life's* venom is directed, as witness this: "When we come to sit down at a peace table with Russia, whose peace table will it be? . . . on the record thus far it would look as if Joseph Stalin might have the biggest say at that table. And what will Joseph Stalin have to say about our kind of world?"

The fact is that the American people and the peoples of all countries are going to have something to say. And this is what the promoters of the imperialist "American Century" are really worried about.

DEAR PEARL BUCK:

IN THE past, as now, your championing of the rights of oppressed peoples everywhere has won you a host of friends and admirers. You have never blunted your words in speaking of equal justice for the Negro, or for the freedom of India, or for the debt all the United Nations owe China. We, therefore, can understand the impatience you expressed last week at the Nobel Anniversary Dinner where you said that there is much foreboding and fear that this war "has ceased to be a fight for freedom."

We can also appreciate the sense of disappointment which moved you to emphasize that the world will have to fight another war, after this one, to guarantee democracy, particularly for those living under empire rule. While much of what you said is true, we cannot agree with your inference that the character of this war has changed. To be sure, this people's war was born out of a traders' conflict and it still retains many of the contradictions and impurities against which all of us battle. But its quality and character spring from the over-all fact, as Earl Browder phrased it in his *Victory—And After,* that triumph "for the United Nations saves the preconditions for human progress while victory for the Axis destroys those preconditions." For two years during the Civil War the Negro was not free. Yet no one can deny that it was a just war to liberate the nation from the slaveholders.

The ruthless logic of the war drives it in the direction of eliminating those factors which impede victory. The impossible only a short time ago becomes possible. Witness the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China by Great Britain, the United States, and Belgium. It is true that this relinquished territory is occupied by the Japanese. But this move by two of

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the leading powers is an augury of the future—a necessity for victory which acknowledges that China has a decisive place in the United Nations.

Through the Fair Employment Practice Committee a small beginning has been made in mobilizing Negroes for war production although the treatment of Negroes in the army is a disgrace to the nation. India, Puerto Rico have not yet won that freedom without which our final triumph is jeopardized. There are limitless examples to show that many policies, especially those of Washington and London, need basic modification before our declared aims in the Atlantic Charter become a world reality. But these goals can be reached only by waging this war without stint, by making every drop of blood shed by our soldiers the catalyst for an ordered and democratic future. Otherwise we shall be destroyed by the divisions which are the bitter fruit of concentrating on shortcomings and forgetting the larger objective of victory. Hitler could wish for nothing better.

★

WE'VE given up trying to answer the *Daily News'* fifth columnists. We prefer to let history answer them. Not so long ago the *News* published a letter in its "People's Voice" column, slandering the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, and asking the question: "Have these babies volunteered to serve the United States in this war? The answer is no."

The *Daily News* refuted the *Daily News* last week, in the form of a dispatch from New Guinea. Headline: HE LEARNED IT IN SPAIN; JAPS PAYING FOR IT. The "he" is Serg. Herman Boettcher, formerly of the International Brigades in Spain. What he learned was a hatred of fascism; what he did was to command a squad of twelve men who held the most important point in the American attack on Buna. His squad beat off two Japanese counter-attacks from flanking positions, killing over seventy of the enemy. Twice wounded, Boettcher himself single-handedly put a Japanese machine-gun nest out of action with grenades. He has been cited for bravery in action, and recommended for a commission by his superior officers.

But Boettcher is not alone. Of the 1,200 Americans who returned from Spain, over 500 (more than half of them volunteers), are in the armed forces today. Over 300 more are sailing the ships that service our allies. Seven of these men—at latest reports—have gone down with their ships.

The *Daily News* did not see fit to comment on its own news story, or retract the slander it deliberately published on November 20 of this year. But the truth cannot be downed even by liars.

GAMBLING WITH EDUCATION

IRRESPONSIBLE newspaper headlines have created the impression that New York's public schools are combat zones where children daily gang up against their teachers. This distortion is arrived at by magnifying sporadic instances of disorder out of all proportion to the facts. The effect is to undermine public confidence in both teachers and pupils. Hostile pressure groups are taking advantage of an admittedly difficult situation created by the war to renew their attacks on institutions supported by public funds.

Particularly unfortunate are the proposals to restore corporal punishment and to assign policemen to the schools. Corporal punishment is not only cruel but unsuccessful. It aggravates the difficulties which it is supposed to remedy. And to use the police as a classroom threat is to challenge the authority of the teacher as well as to create fear of the law officer whom the child has previously been taught to regard as the protector. The police club is no answer to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

In order to find a corrective one must know the cause for the recent increase in juvenile delinquency. As the New York Teachers Union pointed out last week, the fact is that school problems have become more difficult "because our programs for children, which were too limited in peacetime, have been weakened by wartime pressures and tensions." The schools in New York, as elsewhere, are understaffed. Classes are terribly overcrowded. Poor housing conditions, inadequate recreational facilities and guidance services, add to the problem. At a time when many mothers are being drawn into war industries, child care centers are unavailable.

Young people today need more security, confidence, guidance. The trained teacher can supply these provided that school boards, practicing a penny wise economy, do not place impossible burdens upon him. There is a large and untapped reservoir of eligible teachers who should be given the responsibility of full time and permanent work. It would be criminal to neglect the proper training of children because we are too busy with other problems.

SIDELIGHTS AT HOME

THE new food administrator, Secretary of Agriculture Wickard, is not handing out pap when he tells us that in 1943 the United States will continue to be the best-fed country in the world. One need only consider the sacri-

Werner, Chicago *Sun*

"Sweep up, so I can see what I've won."

Shoemaker, Chicago *Daily News*

Alas, Aladdin!

Herblock, Philadelphia *Record*

Rivet Them Down

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fices of the Russians, whose Ukrainian granary is now a Nazi dung-heap, and the rigorous rationing that exists in Britain—not to speak of the hunger-ridden conquered countries—to realize how little we are being asked to give up. There is no doubt that the vast majority of Americans, recognizing that twenty-five percent of next year's food production must go for military and lend-lease needs, are ready to get along with less meat, butter, coffee, and other items of the daily diet. What they expect, however, is equitable distribution of available supplies at prices that the average family can pay. The failure thus far to ration meat, butter, and other foods is already producing the twin evils of hoarding and profiteering. In New York, for example, the *Daily Worker* reveals that ceiling prices for meat are being violated with impunity.

It is plain that a large scale rationing program, vigorously enforced, is the only way to assure the American people the necessities to enable them to fight effectively against the Axis.

AN AMERICAN "Beveridge Plan" for the postwar period is reported now in the hands of President Roosevelt and may soon be made public. The plan is a 500-page document prepared by the National Resources Planning Board. It would provide for federalization of unemployment insurance and widening the coverage; extension of the old age pension system; health and hospitalization insurance; and other benefits. This looking into the future has its value provided it doesn't take our eyes off the grim present. We must never lose sight of the fact that the most fundamental social security measure is the defeat of Hitler and Japan.

THERE are Republicans and Republicans. Republican Governor Saltonstall of Massachusetts, who had the support of the labor movement in his recent successful campaign for reelection, told fifty persons at a private tea the other day, held in New York for Russian War Relief, that he had recently sent a message to a Communist meeting in Boston because it was concerned with the problem of increasing war production. "Two years ago," he said, "I couldn't have done that." He referred to a meeting last Sunday at which Earl Browder spoke. . . . On the other hand, there is Republican Rep. Clare Hoffman of Michigan. He has introduced a resolution calling for the creation of a second "Dies committee" to investigate progressive newspapers and organizations that campaigned against him and other pro-fascists in the last election. Hoffman's proposal moved two administration supporters, Reps. Elmer Holland and James McGranery, to give him such a tongue-lashing as has rarely been heard in the House. They spared nothing of Hoffman's connections with Nazis and shady characters now facing trial for sedition.

★

IF GUSTAVUS MYERS had left no other book behind when he died a few days ago at the age of seventy, his *History of Great American Fortunes* would assure him a permanent position as a social historian. He was among the last of a clan of industrious muckrakers—from Lincoln Steffens to Ida Tarbell—whose work was the ammunition of the middle class revolt at the turn of the century. Except for Myers' fine talent in collecting mountains of revealing data, there was not much in the way of profound conclusions in his work. Nevertheless American writers have borrowed heavily from his books and many a progressive minded citizen has cut his political eye teeth on them. For ten years publishers would not touch the manuscript on American fortunes. And when it was finally issued by the Chicago house of Charles H. Kerr, reviewers rose in righteous wrath and through their attacks made it famous.

Gustavus Myers' last work was a *History of Bigotry in the United States*. We have not read it, but if it measures up to his other books it will stand as a tribute to the best in middle class thinking in this country.

HOW TEMPORARY?

THE word temporary is beginning to have a permanent quality. And millions are asking who is behind this revision of the dictionary. In part, the finger can be pointed at one Robert D. Murphy, counsellor of the embassy in Vichy and now State Department representative in North Africa. Mr. Murphy, it seems, paved the way for General Eisenhower's arrangements with Darlan. That much is obvious from an article published in the *American Foreign Service*

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Journal. It squelches the contentions of some columnists who tried to prove that the Darlan deal was hastily improvised and that the State Department retinue knew nothing about it until it was announced.

AND who paved the way for the Darlan coterie? A story from London to the New York *Post* (December 9) offers a plausible explanation. The chief figures who pressed Darlan to admit Allied forces into Africa were a group of French industrialists, including the notorious Guy de Wendel, armaments manufacturer who supplied the Krupps with steel used by the Nazis in their invasion of France. After the French collapse de Wendel negotiated contracts with German industrialists to set up branch plants of his armaments business. But it seems that he and other French businessmen got the well known Berlin razz. They looked to North Africa as their avenue of escape from being completely engorged by the famous Goering appetite. They sent their money, machines, and employes into North Africa. They also chose Darlan to give them political and military security. The London dispatch by Edward L. Deuss concludes with the information that "The French businessmen candidly admit that they look forward to permanency for Darlan's authoritative, corporate, clerical system."

Each passing day impresses the military necessity of ending this "temporary expedient." We are advised by such experts as Gen. George Catroux of the Fighting French that Darlan is a menace to the Allied expeditionary force. We know that Darlan refused to permit OWI broadcasts to Europe from the radio stations in the French colonies. Thousands of French and Spanish anti-fascists are still imprisoned. Nor has there been any thoroughgoing abrogation of the fascist laws. How long will

GUEST EDITORIAL

Rep. ELMER HOLLAND

OUR DEBT TO RUSSIA

THE GERMAN KAISER had his Verdun. The Nazi fuehrer has his Stalingrad. Two months ago, in the Sportspalast at Berlin, that raucous—that hysterical voice, which all the world has learned to hate—bellowed forth:

"The occupation of Stalingrad, which will also be concluded, will become a gigantic success, and will deepen and strengthen the success. And you can be sure that no human being shall ever push us away from that spot."

So cried out Adolph Hitler on September 30. And loud rang the *"sieg heils."* Much German blood has run red into the soil of the Volga steppes since then. Time and time again the best shock troops that Hitler has have charged and charged again—and, with each failure, the words of the Nazi fuehrer rang out again over the world—hollow and mocking.

"Stalingrad . . . will become a gigantic success," said Adolph Hitler.

We say to Adolph Hitler—and you can be sure that plenty of people inside Germany are also saying it—we can say: "Stalingrad—a gigantic success? Indeed yes, Adolph, but for whom?"

We know whose success it has become. We know that on the front, before Stalingrad, the German army has been bled white. We know that with the genius for timing he has shown so many times, Marshal Timoshenko has waited for the exact—the split-second—moment to begin his counter-attack.

We know that Stalingrad, the steel town on the Volga—that town which was the symbol of the new Russia and bore the name of Russia's leader, we know that Stalingrad will live forever in the hearts of men—because it has become the symbol of resistance beyond what seemed to be limits of endurance, because Stalingrad stood, battered, pounded with heavy guns, set afire from the air, cut off from reenforcements—it stood and took the worst the Nazis had, and held, and beat them backward home.

It was men and women who made the miracle of Stalingrad. They aren't supermen. They aren't a master race. They are plain, simple folk—people of flesh and blood—and I have no doubt that when the crisis came, it found some of them braver than others. But—they had a cause, these people.

The cause came of free men fighting for their homeland.

They knew that this war would be won with no secret weapon, with no magic rain from the sky, with no victory by air power alone, or by sea power alone, or by blockade, or by any other military nostrum or panacea. They knew it could only be won by fighting—and by the extermination of the men who, in their blindness and in their criminality, followed Adolph Hitler.

We are on the march. Britain is on the march. Russia is on the march.

And Adolph Hitler is on the run.

I believe that when the full war effort of this mighty land is rolling, it will be a juggernaut such as the world has never seen. I believe it will make the German army, that rolled through France, look puny by comparison.

Suppose Russia, in accordance with the free predictions of the armchair and typewriter strategists, had fallen to Hitler's armies in the summer and fall of 1941. Do you think Britain would still stand? Do you think that the refreshed German armies, reenforced with the vast resources of the sub-continent which is Russia, would not have overwhelmed the island fortress?

Can you picture our own country—beleaguered by a triumphant Germany in the Atlantic and the Japanese empire thirsting for the kill in the Pacific?

That's the debt we owe to Russia.

I do not believe they can achieve final victory without our help. That help we are giving—and, as the months pass, it will come to Europe as a flood tide, and all the dams that Hitler can erect on the continent he has laid waste and plunged in slavery, will be as naught against the mighty power.

And as Russia cannot win without our help, cannot alone administer the *coup de grace* to Hitler, so we should not have survived as a free democratic nation without the help that Russia gave to us.

We are comrades-in-arms. We are marching together and Britain and China march with us—mighty links in the chain of victory. And, as we march together now, may we go marching down the centuries together.

Let no man divide us—and the peace of this world will be assured.

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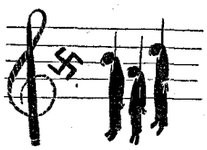
we permit Darlan to block us? Public indignation in Britain rises. Can we afford to risk such friction? The President made his position clear when he issued his statement on Darlan. But apparently there are officials who are not in full-hearted agreement.

SIDELIGHTS ABROAD



THE butcher of the Nazis' Balkan campaign, Kurt Zeitzler, has been given an extra set of chevrons by Hitler and placed at the head of the Nazi General Staff. The shake-up runs through the air and navy staffs as well. General Halder goes the way of von Brauchitsch, whose skyrocketing fame was extinguished by General Zhukoff before the gates of Moscow. Zeitzler is a Gestapo graduate, and his appointment gauges the serious difficulties within the Nazi forces. The surrender of large numbers of German soldiers in the first days of the current Soviet offensive is perhaps one reason for Adolph Hitler's waving the stick.

Some commentators are already beginning to express pity for the ousted generals and even suggest that a little Darlan magic might be exercised at this point. The Washington correspondent of *Voix de France* reports that when the British Eighth Army captured Nazi Gen. Ritter von Thoma, he demanded to see General Montgomery. Von Thoma is said to have told Montgomery that the British could have immediate "peace" with a German military government minus Hitler *et cie.* Von Thoma asked that he be sent back to Berlin with the British reply. Instead he was sent to London where the Cabinet flatly refused his offer. Another Hess affair gone the way of the first one. Such stories are indicative of dangerous negotiated peace trends fostered by the appeasement crowd who have nightmares over thoughts of a German collapse.

MOST useful phrase coined last week came from Walter Lippmann's syndicated column. "The maintenance of the alliance of the United Nations by the practice of the *Good Partner policy* is, I believe, our first duty and the foundation of all the hopes of mankind over our enemies and of an ordered world in which men can be free." Seconded.

Recommended reading is Kate L. Mitchell's valuable piece in the October 25 *Amerasia* on Emperor Hirohito. She replies with all guns blazing to those who insist, among them Ambassador Grew, that the Mikado is helpless in the hands of the Japanese militarists. The facts are decidedly to the contrary.

SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS

WHEREVER the Nazi monster squats, there run the rivers of martyred blood. In Lidice the criminals murdered a town. They slaughtered those who tilled the soil and the innocent who watched over the cradles and the faithful who sang the hymns of a wrathful Lord. The world stood aghast.

Now come the blackest of all reports from the land of the hangmen. A wave of homicidal insanity is sweeping across Europe such as no historian has ever recorded. The massacre of Jews in the Crusades or in the Petlura pogroms of 1919 pales in comparison to what the Jew has been suffering since the outbreak of the war. Here are the pure mathematics of Gleichschaltung.

Germany: of 200,000 Jews in 1939, 160,000 have perished or been deported. Bohemia and Moravia: 65,000 killed or deported to eastern Europe. Austria: of 75,000 Jews at the beginning of the war, no more than 15,000 remain. Yugoslavia: 96,000 out of 100,000 are dead. France: of 340,000 Jews, 65,000 were shipped out of the country. The Netherlands: 60,000 remain out of 180,000. Greece: all between the ages of eighteen and forty-five have been enslaved and an untold number are dead. Rumania: of close to 1,000,000 Jews, only a little more than a quarter are left. Of 185,000 removed to prison camps, 75,000 have died.

This continental-wide crematorium has left no country untouched. Berlin's metallic hordes have also decimated the Jews of Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria. From a Latvian ghetto, 16,000 Jews were led into a forest, stripped of their clothes, and then machine-gunned. Poland has witnessed atrocities beyond the imagination of the normal human mind. From the ghetto of Warsaw alone, 500,000 Jews have disappeared.

Commissions of destruction operating under Hitler's orders have devised methods of killing befitting the "new order." Jews are herded into freight cars, packed until they suffocate from the fumes of wet lime spread on the floors. Machine guns or slave labor camps await the survivors. Planned extermination includes death by injection with air bubbles or lethal chemicals. A new poison gas was tried out on Jews to test its effectiveness. Men and women are forced to dig their own graves before they are shot down. The children are annihilated without hesitation. In one locality a Gestapo agent asked a terrified boy, "Are you afraid?" The boy whispered, "I am." "You'll fear no more," the Gestapo man said, leading him to a wall where he emptied his gun into the body of the child.

These are the verified atrocities which free men throughout the world mourned last week. "And each hour the mountain of their martyred dead rises to still ghastlier heights," as Pierre van Paassen wrote recently.

The President now has under consideration a proposal made by a distinguished group of Jews to establish a commission which, in collaboration with the United Nations, would collect and examine all evidence bearing on criminal acts by the Nazis in occupied Europe. Such a commission is already functioning in the Soviet Union. It prepares for the day when Herman Backe, who drafted the Jewish extermination orders, will meet the same fate as the butcher Heydrich.

Meanwhile we are having repeated for us the lesson which cannot be repeated enough. The mass atrocities committed against the Jews foreshadow the annihilation of all peoples under the crooked cross. The Jews were among the first sacrificed to Brown House barbarism. But they are not the only ones. Terror has been showered on the Greeks and the Dutch, on Frenchman and Pole, on Russian and Spaniard alike. The "master race" means to destroy the whole world. Anti-Semitism is the bedfellow of anti-Catholicism, of the breeding of religious and national hatred without bounds. It is Hitler's war policy.

If the ruthless logic of this war has proved anything, it is that formal protests, no matter how vigorous, fall on deaf ears. The Nazis can understand only one language and that is military force—a counter-violence which will exterminate them before they can exterminate us. Our armed intervention in North Africa has already delayed Hitler's massacre schedule. It can be upset completely by a march into Europe, coordinated with the offensive of the Red Army. Here lies the salvation of the Jew as for all humanity.

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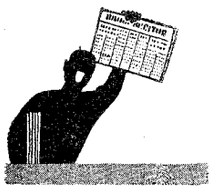
PRESS PARADE



"IN RUSSIA, people — women — have had an aim outside themselves. A great social ideal, something they had created, nursed, fought for and loved passionately—something which they felt as violently about as we did about our American Revolution and something about which outsiders were as suspicious of as they were of our American democracy.

"This country of theirs has given them a freedom far beyond the freedom we are so proud of. It has made them the only truly emancipated women in the world. It has made matrimony and child-bearing a privilege rather than a handicap. It has put them really on an equal footing with men. They are engineers, doctors, factory managers—and now they are warriors.

"But first and foremost they are passionately in love with the system which has given them freedom and their eyes are on the future and their aim is clear to them and they certainly are tough. They have a real religion. And their claim to being the pioneer woman is now stronger than ours.

"The Western Allied world is in the position now of waking up in the morning. For years it has been going to bed at night. We are waking up in the morning and we have some new bedfellows, 180,000,000 Russians, 450,000,000 Chinese, 340,000,000 Indians. It's early in the morning and we are all on our toes—no more bunk. And we all have a common aim—a big aim—the same love, the dignity of the human soul. And we must help each other."

—From a speech by Katharine Hepburn for Russian War Relief, quoted by Elsa Maxwell in the New York *Post*.

"AT A PRESS CONFERENCE the other day Secretary Hull declared that the American military authorities were too busy winning the war to worry about the politics of the people of the occupied countries. This point admits of no argument. It is not the business of our military men to deal with political affairs. That lies within the province of our political leaders. But that is all the more reason why it is urgent upon the latter not to abdicate their functions. What is involved in the situation in North Africa is not merely a military situation, but also a political problem. And it is not a problem that can be disposed of by an off-hand assurance that all will be well when the French and other liberated peoples are able to choose their own rulers and forms of government. For what happens after the war may be determined to a greater or lesser extent by what happens during the war."

—From an editorial in the Washington *Post*.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

FARM BLOC FINAGLING

Washington.

LAST THURSDAY, December 3, as the House went into session, Rep. Stephen Pace of Georgia requested unanimous consent for the passage of a bill "to include farm wages in determining the parity price of agricultural commodities." Just such a provision had been bitterly resisted by the administration when first proposed during the price-control debate. At that time, the administration and popular pressure forced the farm bloc into line on this issue. But on Thursday Rep. John McCormack, House administration spokesman, sat directly behind the tall, gaunt Pace and let the bill go through the House without so much as blinking an eyelid. An objection from him would have killed the measure. When another congressman asked the majority leader why he didn't do something, McCormack shrugged and said, "Hell, they'll kill it in the Senate."

Mr. McCormack is more optimistic than the prospect warrants. The farm bloc is strong in the Senate—stronger and better organized than in the House. Besides, a vote on the bill will risk passage, and McCormack didn't have to take such a chance. Rumor goes around that he was involved in some sort of deal. I don't know whether the rumor is true or not, though everything points that way. But the incident again illustrates reaction's initiative in Congress, and the apathy of administration spokesmen. If passed, the legislation offered by Pace, side-kick of Rep. Cox, will to a large degree negate the President's seven-point anti-inflation program. Moreover, the farm bloc has still another end in mind: as one congressman frankly admitted to me (off the record, of course), "Some people are going to object to this bill as inflationary. Well, at that it may raise parity prices. But, my boy, it ain't necessarily so. Stop this hiking of farm wages, in fact lower 'em where they are out of line, and it won't matter if parity prices include wages, because wages won't be high enough to raise parity prices."

The farm bloc would like to cut agricultural wages. It would like to put a crimp in the policy followed by the Farm Security Administration, which has insisted on some sort of reasonable wage standards —arrived at by setting wage minimums at thirty cents an hour or at the prevailing levels in a community, whichever is higher. Everyone knows that farm wages average well below health and efficiency levels; and low rates have complicated the manpower tangle, since farm workers leave rural areas for industrial centers where pay is munificent in comparison to earnings on the farms. This out-migration has endangered the agricultural labor supply: as a further result, shortages of labor and inefficiency undermine the Food for Victory program.

However, Congress considered the farm labor exodus solved when the farm bloc tacked an amendment on to the teen-age draft bill. The amendment froze agricultural workers to the job "until a satisfactory replacement can be obtained." This bright idea must be credited to Senator Tydings of Maryland, a leading "brain-truster" for the reactionary southern Democrats. Farm workers leaving jobs because of low pay or intolerable conditions are immediately reclassified 1-A in the draft. The Selective Service administration somewhat modified the freezing order by limiting its scope to year-round farm workers. Even so, the inequities of the Tydings amendment are obvious: it discriminates against a large group working for sub-standard pay; and the danger of being frozen to the job tends to discourage new workers from taking employment in agriculture.

The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packinghouse, and Allied Workers (UCAPAWA) countered the unjust and harmful Tydings legislation with a request that the War Manpower Commission use its authority to exempt from the freezing order those workers receiving sub-standard wages. Futhermore, the union pointed out that freezing, by preserving conditions making for underemployment, results in a waste of manpower. The union suggested that the Manpower Commission determine whether replacements were available when

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workers appealed for release from agricultural jobs. If such replacements were possible, then workers should be free to seek industrial employment.

BEFORE THE PRESIDENT transferred full authority for all phases of manpower mobilization, including Selective Service, to Paul V. McNutt, the union had the discouraging prospect of trying to convince WMC to order Selective Service to adopt the UCAPAWA program in relation to the Tydings amendment. Now that reorganization has been accomplished (generally accepted as only the beginning of a general shakeup among the war agencies, and as an important victory for advocates of civilian control over war economy), the union's outlook for favorable action by WMC along the lines it suggested has improved. Certainly anyone who was present at the hearing conducted by WMC on Friday, December 4, would expect the first gain from reorganization to be the elimination of what to date has been an ominous division of authority between WMC and Selective Service. At the hearing, one day before the executive order gave McNutt complete control over manpower, General Hershey of Selective Service as much as told WMC officials to go to hell. He granted that WMC had authority to issue directives to his agency, but he added that directives did not force compliance. Now McNutt, in full command, can end jurisdictional disputes—to the benefit of the war effort.

Coming back to the Tydings freezing decree—the amendment represented the first and only instance of Congress legislating on manpower. In a way, the amendment served as a preview of what could—and undoubtedly would—happen if the recent clamor for a national service act persuaded Congress to take still further action. The Tydings freeze decree tackled the manpower question hind-end first. Underemployment in farm areas is encouraged rather than lessened. Waste of critical manpower continues, if anything, is increased. Freezing the lowest paid category of labor can result only in hampering agricultural production and preserving a surplus of manpower, improperly used in the war effort. In short, the Tydings amendment freezes most dislocations in agriculture today.

THE DAPPER, supercilious Tydings got his amendment through Congress by rallying the farm bloc. To repeat the obvious, the farm bloc quite consciously devotes itself to pleasing the largest landholders and agricultural producers. While America's job is to feed and clothe our nation and our allies, while the job will extend into the postwar period on a far greater scale, the largest agricultural producers think not in terms of higher production, but rather in terms of their own very narrow, selfish interests. They desire to hang on to surpluses of labor and to preserve low wage rates—and the Tydings amendment is a big help. They are less than enthusiastic about expanding agricultural production because they fear such expansion will encourage competition from small farmers—the Tydings amendment offers nothing to the small farmers. In other words, the great monopolists in agriculture are not too excited over the Food for Victory program; they prefer the status quo and all the privileges they have enjoyed in the past. Above all, they want to perpetuate these privileges for the future, until the end of time.

Pres. John Brandt, at the Chicago convention of the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation, wailed that unless the big farmers are careful, they will find themselves subject to the Wagner act and wage-hour provisions. Mr. Brandt, who has had close relations to America First, continued: "I think we are extremely egotistical as a nation and woefully lacking in judgment and appreciation of the problems of the people of the world when we convey the idea that we can not only feed and supply our own nation, but at the same time, finance and feed all the rest of the world." Mr. Brandt, quite a favorite with the farm bloc, is not impressed with the need to raise agricultural production. Like W. P. Witherow, outgoing NAM president who told the New York convention, "I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot, or for a TVA on the Danube, or for governmental handouts of free Utopia," Mr. Brandt and his fellows among the largest agricultural producers take as their guiding slogan: "Me first—then the war effort, maybe."

Principles established for agriculture—as in the Pace bill, the Tydings amendment, the preservation of substandard wages—affect the whole economy, and therefore concern every person interested in raising production and prosecuting the war to the limit. The farm bloc fights for its friends—and these friends consistently ignore the necessities of total war. So far, the members of the farm bloc have had their own way too easily. It is time to stop their shenanigans.

San Francisco *Chronicle*

A Frontline Trench

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

MYSTERY IN TUNISIA

THE latest alibi for *l'affaire Darlan* has been passed on to commentators, news analysts, correspondents reporting the war from Washington, etc. It is: "The arrangement with Darlan put the entire African campaign one month ahead of schedule."

If we take this alibi at its face value, we are forced to come to the conclusion that the vanguards of the Allied forces should really have reached Medjez-el-Bab only in mid-January 1943. As for General Montgomery's army in Libya—it should, presumably, have come up against El Agheila only at the turn of the year.

Let us look at the course of the campaign so far and try to determine whether or not the explanation offered is correct.

We know that General Eisenhower's armada consisted of some 500 ships, exclusive of some 350 convoying warships. Allowing an average of 5,000 tons per ship, which is very reasonable, and another average of five ship-tons per man with corresponding equipment and supplies for the first phases of the campaign, we come to the conclusion that the Allied expeditionary force numbered about 500,000 men.

These forces were disembarked along a line which is about 600 miles long (Casablanca to Algiers) and includes four principal strategic coastal points—Casablanca, Rabat, Oran, and Algiers. The entire area is linked by an excellent system of roads and one main trunk railroad with a number of branch lines. With the occupation of Bone near the Tunisian border in the first days of the operation, the Allied *place d'armes* was extended to a length of about 850 miles with those excellent lines of communications running all the way through smack up to the prospective battlefront. These lines extended into Tunisia, where the network of roads is such that it is difficult to fit a twenty-mile line anywhere on the map without seeing it cross either a railroad or a road.

Thus the situation as far as lines of communication and supply are concerned was good. Taking Algiers as the base for the Tunisian front, we see that General Anderson's First Army had a perfect setup of lines of communications, only 300 miles long. From this jumping-off line, say Bone-Lamy-Souk Ahras-Montesquieu-Clairefontaine, the average distance to Tunisia's eastern coast is 150 miles. Six trunk roads and five railroads run east from this line.

At that time, i.e., approximately during the first week after the landing, the Axis had only about 10,000 troops in Tunisia, including all sorts of auxiliaries and technicians. General Anderson was reported to be at the head of 150,000 men. During the first ten days he reached the "distant approaches" to Bizerte and Tunis. One of his columns, American-French in composition, was reported racing across the waist of Tunisia to the sea, intent on reaching it somewhere between Sfax and Gabes. A Free French column was reported to be moving from Lake Chad in the general direction of Tripoli. Allied paratroopers were said to be seizing airdromes in the hump of Tunisia.

Two weeks after the landing Anderson's army was reported "poised to strike" at Bizerte and Tunis and was supposed to be about ten miles from Tunis. The important triangle protecting those two strategic points—Mateur-Djedeida-Tebourba—was reported in Allied hands.

BUT DURING the next two weeks everything seemed to go wrong.

The center of Anderson's army received a terrific armored blow in the Tebourba direction and had to give up the latter place as well as Djedeida and Mateur. It was pushed back to Medjez-el-Bab, some twenty-five miles to the rear. That the parachute landing parties were not able to capture any airdromes is attested to by the fact that the Allies don't seem to be able to establish air superiority because of lack of near airdromes for their fighters.

Nothing is known of the Allied columns which were reported marching to Sfax and Gabes. The Free French moving up from Lake Chad have not appeared yet.

In other words, the operation in Tunisia which—judging by the first bold stab by Gen. Anderson into the Mateur-Djedeida region—was originally planned as a lightning blow to catch the Axis unprepared, came to grief.

This is where we, frankly, cannot quite understand the statement that we are "a month ahead of schedule." It would seem to us that we are two weeks behind. We outlined probable developments in NEW MASSES of November 24 and December 1 on the strength of news available then. But practically nothing has materialized.

The statement that we were "a month ahead of schedule" *thanks to the Darlan deal,* is not easy to understand, either.

It is clear that Gen. Mark Clark, during his dangerous and highly successful mission to Africa last summer, prearranged the comedy of Vichy resistance "for the sake of honor" and the subsequent surrender of the bases in North Africa. It would seem that Casablanca and Rabat were not covered by that arrangement.

Now Casablanca was more under the thumb of the *para*-fascist French Navy than Oran and Algiers. So here Darlan's influence may have been expedient. But we see that Casablanca was precisely the place that offered the only large scale resistance of the whole lot. So what did Darlan do, after all? He did not even succeed in luring the French fleet from Toulon to Africa. He made an appeal without giving an order. We lost the fleet, but Hitler still has part of it: two light cruisers, six destroyers, and seven smaller ships.

Taking the picture as a whole, we frankly fail to understand the failure of General Anderson's First Army to take Tunis and Bizerte in its first sweep, when he outnumbered the Axis at least 10:1. Neither could we understand the delay before Montgomery pushed Rommel out of El Agheila. Rommel was also outnumbered 10:1. In the five see-saw swings of the Libyan campaigns we saw examples of lines of communication being established quickly over hundreds of miles and this in conditions of actual combat. Such conditions have not existed since the capture of Tobruk: the trouble with the British was that they could not catch up with Rommel, *not* that he was fighting them.

However, it must be conceded that General Anderson's troops were utterly green. Many of them (including all US troops) had never had anything but blanks fired at them. They came up against hard bitten veterans, some of whom had got their training on the Soviet Front. This can explain the setback at Tebourba. But it is difficult to explain the general delay in the conduct of the campaign. Judgment on this must await further developments.

Discussing lines of communications is a favorite indoor sport of the "experts." Now, when we hear of difficult lines in North Africa, we are reminded of the German conquest of Crete which was taken from 50,000 Allied troops with practically *no* lines of communications, except by air.

There is little doubt in our mind that the magnificent logistical beginning of the campaign was not followed by equally brilliant tactical and strategic moves.

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WORDS CAN BE BULLETS...

What newspapermen should ask themselves. "To sweep away prejudice, superstition, and ignorance." Palme Dutt's transatlantic broadcast called for a press that will fight.

The following remarks by R. Palme Dutt were broadcast from Britain to New Masses' recent "Words Can Be Bullets" dinner.

I SHOULD like to express my gratitude to NEW MASSES for the opportunity to speak to friends in the United States. May I also take the opportunity to pay tribute to NEW MASSES on behalf of its many readers in Britain, and to say how much we value it both for the living closeness with which it brings to us American democratic policies and progressive thought, and for its outstanding role as a journal of international progressive opinion. Today, above all, NEW MASSES, with its expanding circulation in Britain, the Dominion, and all English-speaking countries, is performing an invaluable role as an international link of the people united in the common struggle against fascism.

Can words be bullets? I think we must answer that question thus: Words are no substitute for bullets. The dreams of idealists who imagined they could dissolve fascism by preaching or by eloquent words have long been shattered. Words cannot replace guns, planes, and tanks, which can alone finally destroy fascism. But words can be very powerful generators of the force which produces guns, planes, and tanks and which can wield those weapons courageously, with inflexible purpose to destroy fascism.

How has fascism, which is contrary to the plain interests of the common people in every country and loathsome to every human feeling and decency of ninety-nine percent of mankind —how has it been able to attain such strength that it can threaten the whole world, hold up the business of the world, turn us aside from urgent constructive tasks in order to concentrate on the single, necessary, bloody task of destroying it?

Fascism has achieved its conquests not only by brute violence but by lies, deception, a cunning propaganda, a poison press —both in the countries where it holds power and in the world press, into which it has insidiously penetrated for many years, influencing reactionary, anti-popular circles of thought.

Therefore, the first task of the democratic press of the world is to combat fascism; to counter its lies and propaganda and the propaganda of its secret friends; to expose fascism not in abstract phrases but in living concrete detail close to the feeling of the masses, laying bare its foul record; to inspire a deep, holy, burning, undying hatred of fascism in all the peoples of the world.

Fascism has achieved its conquests not primarily by a strength superior to the strength of its opponents, but by the division of its opponents—by the division of the people. Unity is the key to victory over fascism.

BUT this unity of free peoples cannot be imposed by mechanical discipline. The free alliance of the United Nations is not like the Hitlerites' forced combination of subject nations, held together by brigand armies of occupation, the Gestapo, and satellite quislings. The peoples' unity of action in the fight against fascism must be inspired by a unity of spirit, mind, and will; by knowledge of the enemy and the cause for which we fight; hatred of the enemy, fascism, and the determination to destroy it; and by a common resolve to work, fight, and sacrifice for complete victory in the cause of liberation.

Have we yet that complete unity of will and effort, that 100 percent mobilization of the people, that united action of the alliance which spells victory? Are there not still pockets of indifference, half-heartedness, cynicism, sectional interests, failure to understand the issues that are at stake?

It is here that the press can play its decisive role.

The second task of the democratic press in the war of liberation against fascism is to unite and mobilize the peoples against fascism; to build close the unity of the alliance, the unity and friendship of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, China, and all the nations engaged in the common struggle; to strengthen the unity of the nation against all disrupters and defeatists; to strengthen the unity of the fighting forces and the home front; to intensify war production; to expose and fight ruthlessly all half-heartedness, incompetence, corruption, bureaucratic neglect, or sabotage by vested interests; to respond closely to the feelings and the needs of the men in the armed forces, their families, and the workers in industry; to raise the whole fighting pitch of the nations to a new level.

The modern press is a mighty engine of power. In tens and hundreds of millions of copies a day it can mold the thought and feelings of men. There has been nothing like it in the human record. We may reflect how little it has yet been used to its full strength outside the Soviet Union for great constructive purposes: to sweep away prejudice, superstition, and ignorance, and inspire mankind to glorious common efforts. Fascism has shown how that same power of the press can be used against civilization to poison, debase, and enslave, to spread racial hatred, to inculcate brutality, to teach contempt for humanity, freedom, and progress. But the war against fascism offers a great opportunity to the press and the writers of the world.

THE press has played a great role in the struggle for liberty since the first invention of printing. Remember the Reformation and the fight to make the sacred books, which were then the repositories of human knowledge, available to the common people by the power of print. When the English people began the modern battle for liberty, beheaded their king, set up their republic, and faced the wrath of reactionary Europe, it was Milton, prince of poets, who stepped into the dust of the arena and fulminated over Europe in fiery pamphlets on behalf of the English Revolution. The press of eighteenth century France prepared the French Revolution. The American press prepared the American Revolution. And the Abolitionist press prepared the battle for the ending of slavery. The Chartist press won the freedom of the press for the English people.

Today the world press can play a still greater role in the first world struggle of mankind for liberation against fascism.

The Soviet press has set a splendid example of the press of the people in battle, close to the masses, winning their confidence by its plain, unvarnished truth, inspiring their efforts, exposing the enemy, proclaiming the aims of the people; it has been their agitator and organizer.

Remember the illegal press in the enslaved countries of Nazi-occupied Europe, with what daily heroism of countless thousands it is produced and distributed, keeping alive the sacred flame of the struggle. Remember Gabriel Peri, editor of *Humanite,* who died singing with the words of freedom on his lips, a hostage in the hands of the fascist beasts; he set a deathless example for the youth and the writers of all nations.

Let us, who have still open to us the means of expression in the democratic world, be faithful to our trust. Let us swear that we shall use every nerve of our strength in the cause of victory over fascism and for the liberation of mankind.

R. PALME DUTT.

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N.A.M.'s REAL WAR AIMS

The double-talk at the recent convention added up to defeatism. What W. P. Witherow said and what he meant. Mr. Prentis quoted everybody but himself. His threat of a "disguised fascist dictatorship."

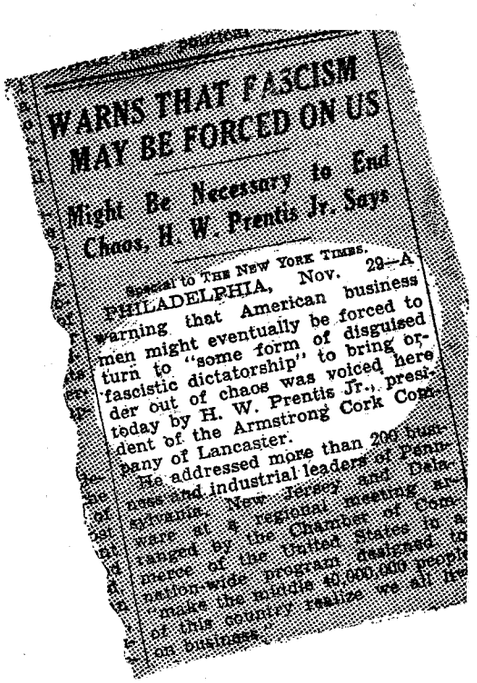
SUPPOSE a labor organization, say the CIO, held a convention in New York entitled the War Convention of the CIO. Suppose that instead of discussing how to increase war production and strengthen other phases of the war effort, speaker after speaker attacked as fascist all regulatory measures designed to speed the output of planes, tanks, guns, etc. Suppose one speaker declared that the war against Hitler was secondary to the war against our own government, and others echoed him. Suppose that speakers denounced all business leaders as racketeers and fascist agitators. Suppose they sneered at the speeches of Secretary of Commerce Jones, accused the government of attempting to smuggle the British system into this country, and linked Churchill with Hitler and Mussolini.

All this would get big headlines in the papers. There would be hot indignant editorials demanding that the CIO be suppressed, its leaders tried for sedition or treason. Appeals for action would be made to the President, the Department of Justice, and Congress.

The above speeches with slight modifications were actually made in New York—but *not* at a CIO convention. The war measures required for organizing production were attacked not as fascist, but as socialistic or communistic. It was not business leaders who were denounced as racketeers and fascists but labor leaders. It was not Secretary Jones who was a favorite target, but Vice-President Wallace. There were hostile warnings not against Britain, but against another great ally, the Soviet Union; and it was her leaders, Lenin and Stalin, not Churchill, who were put in the company of Hitler and Mussolini. The annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers got big headlines and big stories, but somehow none of them managed to convey the simple fact that, except for the addresses by government officials, nine-tenths of the speeches were permeated with the spirit of defeatism. We can be sure, however, that this fact did not escape certain students of American affairs in Berlin and Tokyo.

THE ostensible purpose of the NAM convention was stated by its president, W. P. Witherow, in his opening speech: "We are assembled here mainly to discuss ways and means to increase our war production, to speed up our armaments program, and to keep America strong." If any such matters were discussed, it must have been in the privacy of hotel rooms and in subterranean sessions after midnight. Donald Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, did discuss the problem of increasing production at the closing dinner of the convention; Ferdinand C. Eberstadt, WPB vice-chairman, told the delegates about the new controlled materials plan; Hiland G. Batcheller, chief of the WPB's iron and steel branch, talked on "Steel to Beat the Axis." But as for the NAM tycoons themselves, they kept gasping for breath denouncing as socialism every measure to increase production and make America strong.

Witherow's speech was, in fact, a marvel of double-talk. You could almost literally skip every other paragraph and the result would be two speeches, one saying the direct opposite of the other. For instance: "Let us seek to strengthen the position of our Commander-in-Chief, of Congress, and of our military and production leaders in the most stupendous task of all time." And then: "I should like to call attention to the trend toward socialized forms of control and the necessity of controlling those trends now. . . . There's the $25,000 limitation on salaries. . . . This idea was unblushingly borrowed from the public platform of the Communist Party in 1928. . . ." Or consider this: "Let industry leave no stone unturned to gain national unity as well as industrial unity. . . . Anything that gives labor a black eye with the public is a curb on production." And then: "Reformers have recently been much concerned—and Congress has been agitated if not concerned—over the poll tax. There's another poll tax that needs a lot of attention—the poll tax that union racketeers are charging thousands of American citizens before they can help fight the war for the Federal Union." On the subject of war aims Witherow likewise blew hot: "I believe with Secretary Hull in the promise of emancipation and self-determination we



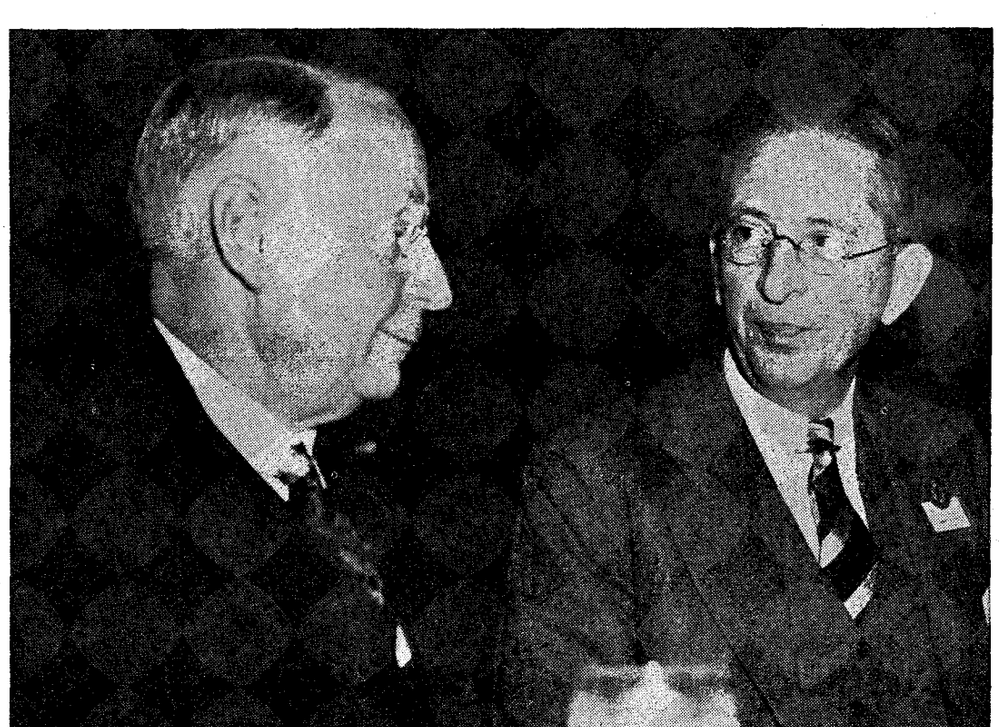
WARNS THAT FASCISM MAY BE FORCED ON US

Might Be Necessary to End Chaos, H. W. Prentis Jr. Says

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 29—A warning that American business men might eventually be forced to turn to "some form of disguised fascistic dictatorship" to bring order out of chaos was voiced here today by H. W. Prentis Jr., president of the Armstrong Cork Company of Lancaster.

He addressed more than 200 business and industrial leaders of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware at a regional meeting arranged by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in a nation-wide program designed to make the middle 40,000,000 people of this country realize we all live on business.



The clipping reproduced here is from the New York "Times" of Nov. 30, 1938. The speaker referred to, H. W. Prentis, Jr., appears above (left) with Lammot du Pont, who was the most influential figure at the NAM Resolutions Committee's secret meeting of September 17—exposed by Bruce Minton in "New Masses" of November 17.

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must hold out to the war-torn nations of the world." And cold: "I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot, or for a TVA on the Danube, or for governmental handouts of free Utopia." Here is the old, ugly, chauvinist isolationism over again.

But most of the speakers didn't bother with any such devious balancing of water on both shoulders. They frankly challenged the war program; as I pointed out in my article last week, one of them, Prof. Harley L. Lutz of Princeton University, went so far as to say: "No one need feel concern over the final outcome of the military war; but there is reason for the gravest concern over the outcome of our civil war—the war of the screwy social reformers against the American way of life." And they incited class hate against the men and women of labor who seek to join with the majority of patriotic employers in an all-out effort for victory.

It is, of course, impossible to say to what extent these views represent merely the last-ditch stand of business-as-usual and to what extent they represent outright defeatism; the point is that the one, if pursued aggressively enough, inevitably merges into the other. That the convention did not by any means speak for all or even a majority of the industrial leaders of the country was obliquely indicated by several speakers who deplored the "defeatism" of many businessmen (by which was meant their refusal to fight the government) and urged that the NAM should not trim its policies to meet objections from the business community.

It is significant that the heaviest barrage of what should have been entitled the Negotiated Peace Congress of a Minority of American Industry was laid down against the crux of America's war effort, the battle for production, for a total war economy. This was most nakedly expressed by that pretentious poisoner of the youthful mind, Professor Lutz. He called for a return to the dog-eat-dog days of the past when the monopolies rode herd over their competitors. Taxation in accordance with ability to pay he described as "the most potent of all weapons for the destruction of private property and private initiative, and for the introduction of the socialist state." And he warned that "plans are under way for a sweeping reconstruction of the economy in the name of the war need." Blasts against "government regimentation" and "wartime planners" also spurted from such NAM big guns as J. Howard Pew of the Sun Oil Co., brother of the Republican boss of Pennsylvania and member of the executive committee of the defunct American Liberty League; Colby M. Chester, another ex-Liberty Leaguer, who is head of the General Foods Corp., and H. W. Prentis, Jr., president of the Armstrong Cork Co.

OLD stuff, you say. And in truth these are the stale shibboleths that hundreds of thousands of dollars sought vainly to foist on the American people back in 1936. But the context is new, and this is all-important. In this desperate war for national survival the production of war materials is decisive. And it is no small matter that today a small but powerful group of unreconstructed Liberty Leaguers, led by Lammot du Pont, chairman of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. (who was re-elected to the NAM board of directors), are centering their attack not merely on the social reforms of the New Deal, as was the case in the past, but on war production. This is what all the sound and fury about "socialistic controls" boils down to. And that it really is that was made clear on those rare occasions when the NAM chiefs actually got down to discussing some aspect of war production.

FOR EXAMPLE, there was the broadcast made during the convention by Walter D. Fuller, chairman of the NAM board. Fuller is president of the Curtis Publishing Co., whose magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post,* has helped spread appeasement, anti-Semitism, and other pro-fascist ideas. His broadcast was supposed to be a discussion of the subject of rationing war resources. But from beginning to end it was a complaint against the curtailment of civilian production. He particularly objected to the proposed industry concentration program of the War Production Board. Under this program, which has been put into effect with great success in Britain, the manufacture of essential civilian items like refrigerators or stoves is concentrated in two or three companies, while the rest are converted to war production. "If concentration of industry is necessary for victory," Fuller said, "you and I will certainly not oppose it. But we want to be certain that it *is* necessary." And of course he was raising this question out of solicitude for the small business firms which were in danger of being put out of business as a result of concentration. (The fact is that proper centralized planning of our war economy, which Fuller and his colleagues so bitterly oppose, is the only way to assure that small business will be kept going and its facilities utilized for war production.) Just to make clear what he had in mind Fuller cited this: "In the bicycle industry two nucleus plants were limited to a monthly output of 10,000 units. What was accomplished by this move? It accomplished the saving of less than 40,000 tons of steel a year—about as much steel as diligent scrap collectors could collect in an afternoon in any moderate-sized city."

"Only" 40,000 tons of steel! Why worry about it? Why interfere with business-as-usual merely to get enough steel (from one industry) to build eight battleships or more than 9,000 tanks? Listeners might have thought they had tuned in on Radio Berlin by mistake, but it was the chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers handing out the "line" of what we are asked to believe was the War Congress of American Industry.

European capitalists would smile at all this frantic talk about "socialism." Over there state capitalist measures even in peacetime are greater than those we have so far adopted in war. The fact is that our government, calling into service almost exclusively men from the ranks of big business itself, has proceeded so gingerly that there has been no real organization of our war production program. Instead of organization and planning, we have had coaxing and exhortation—witness the efforts last year to persuade the auto industry to undertake conversion. And the War Production Board has acted as a polite umpire among conflicting interests rather than as a general staff planning strategy and issuing orders. The trouble is that American capitalists have led a rather sheltered existence and have grown up in ignorance of the essential facts of life. As a result, when their rugged individualistic activities get them into a jam, as was the case in 1932-33 and again in the outbreak of the present war, many of them get panicky when they have to take a little bitter medicine and begin to wring their hands over the imminent death of what they call "free enterprise" (as if just anybody is free to go into the aluminum or auto manufacturing business). A man like Earl Browder, whose brilliant book, *Victory —and After,* contains some of the most constructive proposals about war economy that have been made, has far more faith in the present stability of the capitalist system in America than the gentlemen in control of the NAM —if we are to take their words at face value.

THE latter is not at all certain. Take, for example, the aforementioned H. W. Prentis, Jr., chairman of the NAM executive committee. Prentis is the heavy thinker of the NAM. At last year's convention he delivered an oration in defense of the Bill of Rights and compared President Roosevelt to King George III. (Guess what King George's victims did!) This year he prepared an even more ambitious opus, entitled "The Way to Freedom," embellished with allusions to ancient Greece and Rome and studded with quotations from Plato, Oliver Cromwell, James Madison, de Tocqueville, Woodrow Wilson, Prof. A. G. B. Fisher, Stuart Chase, Peter Drucker, and Hanson W. Baldwin. About the only person Prentis didn't quote was H. W. Prentis, Jr. Let me refresh his memory. The New York *Times* of Nov. 30, 1938, carried the following news item:

"Philadelphia, November 29.—A warning that American businessmen might eventually be forced to turn to 'some form of disguised fascistic dictatorship' to bring order out of chaos was voiced here today by H. W. Prentis, Jr., president of the Armstrong Cork Co. of Lancaster."

Is eventually now? Do the NAM leaders object to the state capitalist measures of war economy or do they really object to the *democratic controls* of a war economy dedicated to the destruction of fascism? Perhaps Herbert Hoover, who received a thunderous ovation at the NAM gathering, gave the answer when in criticizing our government's methods and in setting forth his own twelve principles of war organization he said: "Civilian war organization is economic fascism itself."

A. B. MAGIL.

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WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED

MORE STATEMENTS FROM PROMINENT AMERICANS ON ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE PEARL HARBOR AND THE BIG JOBS AHEAD.

Several weeks ago we asked Katherine Anne Porter, one of America's most distinguished short story writers, to give her views, for publication sometime in December, on the lessons of the past year in regard to Negro rights. Miss Porter, herself a Southerner, was so stirred by the dispute between Marian Anderson and the DAR that she decided to limit her comment to that issue. Though the controversy has since been settled, we think Miss Porter's words are still as pertinent and admirable as when she wrote them.—The Editors.

Katherine Anne Porter

Author of "Flowering Judas," etc.

AT THIS very moment (early November 1942) when the great news has come about our army in North Africa, and the same good news from Russia as always; when by listening to the radio we can hear the splendid words Freedom, Democracy, Our Way of Life, Justice for All, and Liberty, hundreds of times every day; when above the clamor of the war reports and the marching songs being plugged on the radio, earnest voices lecture us, bidding us hope, believe, fight, pray, work, and buy bonds; warning us that unless we change our ways for the better we are in effect fools and deserve what we shall get: I feel certain that quite millions of readers and listeners like myself paused for a baffled moment trying to figure out the second battle of the war between the DAR and Miss Marian Anderson.

I find this new civil war of the deepest interest and of most symbolic importance. I consider that Miss Anderson has been invaded again, and there are psychological elements in the attitude of the DAR toward Miss Anderson that remind me of that of Germany toward France. The Germans can't really beat France permanently, but they cannot resist having another try from time to time. The important question to my mind is, why cannot those embattled Daughters let Miss Anderson alone? Why, after covering themselves and their country with shame in the first engagement of Constitution Hall, must they come back for more? Was it necessary for them to invite Miss Anderson to sing this particular benefit concert, or had it simply slipped their minds that she is a Negro, which caused all the row in the first place, and must never be allowed to sing in Constitution Hall, even if her voice is one of the world's musical wonders?

Couldn't the Daughters, whose chief claim to existence is that they are descended from men who fought to make this a free country, have simplified the whole thing by choosing a singer of their own triumphant race, for there are a good number of first rate ones, and let it go at that? What is the uncanny power exercised by Miss Anderson upon their imaginations? Could they not have thought up some new way this time to make themselves absurd on the front pages? They have hardly ever failed before; rarely do they repeat themselves. We have been able to depend upon a fresh outbreak of malodorous publicity from the Daughters of the American Revolution at least twice a year since who knows when. And always it was something original and comic in a rather sinister way, like a cartoon by Adams.

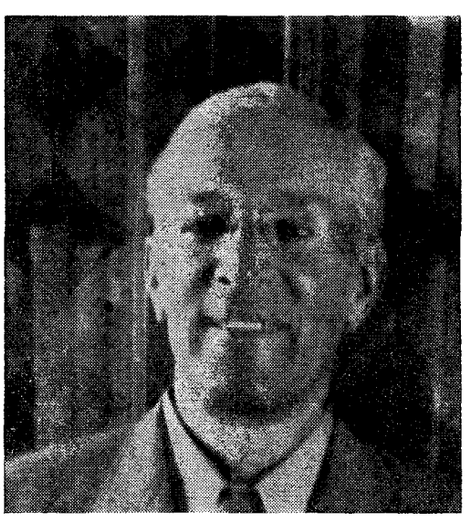
Are they slowing down, do you think? Is it a case of hardening of the arteries, or a stubborn case of arrested development, or both? It is easy to imagine them getting together and planning some lively little skit that will get their names in the papers once more, and after long brain cudgeling, one of them suggesting rather wearily, "Well, of course, we can always insult Marian Anderson. That's good for any amount of publicity, and gives us the most wonderful chance to state again the great principles of this Republic which our Fathers" (every one genuflects here, creaking a little), "fought for."

So they invite Miss Anderson, a sensible, well mannered woman who happens also to be a superb artist, to sing in that all too celebrated Hall, where they had once forbidden her before, because she is a Negro. Miss Anderson hasn't changed her color or her ways since then, any more than the Daughters have changed theirs, and I am wondering in what dream world the Daughters live that they choose this moment of all moments in our history to make that *gaffe* again, with slight variations, but still, as you might say, twice in the same place. I hear just now that Miss Anderson has compromised with them: if the Daughters will allow a mixed audience, colored and white sitting where they please, she will not expect to sing there again, at least never on her own business rather than the Daughters'. Or it may be the other way about. At any rate, I am sorry if she has given way an inch, for such an opportunity as hers to teach a lesson in manners, morals, ethics, to say nothing of patriotism and plain political strategy, is much too good for her to throw over.

Would the Daughters ever learn, though? I am afraid not. But surely the rest of us are not going to be unteachable too. Isn't it time for some one, some one with real force who can make the words stick, to explain to the Daughters that a joke is a joke, of course, but that the gunning season on colored singers is closed for good. And further, that their *gamine* little habits of pulling chairs out from under Democracy, putting out their busy little feet and tripping up Human Decency, tying tin cans to the ghosts of the Founding Fathers, and playing hob generally in their larkish and

Katherine Anne Porter

Lt. Commdr. Charles S. Seely



Upton Sinclair

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girlish way, are not so funny now (if they ever were), just when everybody is busy and worried and overworked trying to save a few bits and pieces to remake a possible world. . . .

Isn't it time the Daughters should think of beginning to try to grow up? Or must some League of Public Safety pronounce them incorrigible and send them to reform school? They'll be invading Bill Robinson next. . . .

Lt. Commdr. Charles S. Seely

US Navy (ret'd). Author of "Russia and the Battle of Liberation"

As I see it, the greatest lesson the American people have learned—or at least began to learn—during the war is the truth about Russia, and her new social and economic system. While years may yet pass before the American public becomes entirely familiar with Russia and her new system, a magnificent start has been made. The truth is at long last reaching the American people.

Before we were attacked, the vast majority of the people of the United States not only knew next to nothing about Russia's new system, but were actually afraid to learn anything about it for fear of endangering, or even losing, their means of livelihood. Many, if not most, Americans had been given to understand by those who controlled our economic forces that the Russian system was all bad; that nothing good could come of it—and that if they cared for their jobs, they had better not be caught asking questions about it, attending meetings where it was explained, or even reading papers which presented it in a favorable light.

It is not an overstatement to say that before the war it was quite difficult—in fact next to impossible—for the great mass of the American people to get real information as to Russia, her people, and their new social and economic system; a system based on service rather than on profit; on cooperation rather than on the "every man for himself and devil take the hindmost" principle.

Before we entered the war practically all the news we heard from Russia was bad. Our principal sources of information neglected to give us the good news from that country. And in many cases news from Russia which really was good was distorted or slanted in such a way as to make it appear bad. Deliberate lies and faked stories of unfavorable conditions in Russia were the rule rather than the exception. We were taught to hate and fear Russia and her new system. Certainly with the exception of a few pro-labor papers and magazines, no real attempt was made to enlighten the American public as to the truth about Russia before the war. One of the many unfortunate results of this suppression of facts is the war. It is not at all probable that there would have been a war if the American public had been fully informed as to the truth about Russia. If we had known the truth we almost certainly would have joined Russia in a great collective security pact which would have made Hitler and his accomplices impotent.

Now, however, because Russia is fighting the same enemy that we are fighting our sources of information can hardly avoid mentioning at least some of the truths of the Russian social and economic system. This circumstance has already resulted in a tremendous increase in interest in Russia by the American people. People naturally are interested in anything that is designed to help them, better their condition of life; and Russia's system not only aims to help people, but actually does help them. No apologies whatever are necessary for the Russian social and economic system when the truth about it is known. One may as well attempt to apologize for the teachings of Jesus!

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Americans will throw off their fear of Russia and her system long before this war is over. Indeed many Americans who up until recently were confirmed "Russia-haters" have already changed their positions. From now on one may expect requests and demands by our people for at least some of the features of the Russian system—socialized medicine for one example—which could readily be adopted by us to the great advantage of practically all of us.

An exchange of ideas between Russia and the United States would seem to be in order now, and we certainly must get at this before the war progresses much farther. Such an exchange would benefit both countries, and especially this country. In any case, however, if no other good comes out of our present association with Russia than a true understanding of the Russian system by the American people our sacrifices in this war will not have been in vain.

[The opinions and assertions expressed above are the private ones of the writer and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the naval service at large.]

Upton Sinclair

We radicals have had better luck than we deserved during the past few years. By our party splits and strife we earned a tragic doom, and we missed it by a hair's breadth. I should say that the first lesson we have to learn is to keep our guns trained on the enemy.

Through blind luck mainly, it has come about that the four great progressive national units—the American, the British, the Chinese, and the Soviets—are fighting on the same side, and are going to win. They all have to win, because they dare not lose; it would mean the end of everything they exist for. The lesson we have to learn while fighting, or while writing and thinking about it, is how to avoid the tragic blunder of a quarter-century ago, when we won the war and lost the peace.

Traveling up and down the state of California in 1934, campaigning for EPIC, I was asked a hundred times for a definition of fascism. My answer was: "Fascism is capitalism plus murder." In the years since then the people have learned about the murder, but they don't yet know about the capitalist, and they never will know if the capitalists and their hired writers can arrange it. In Germany, because socialism was popular, the fascists called themselves National Socialists; and in the United States, where socialism is unpopular, they call themselves anti-socialists, old-line and true-blue Democrats, believers in Americanism, free enterprise, and so on—whatever fine phrases will cover the fact that capitalism wants contented and obedient wage slaves and will keep them by force if need be. When this war is won, all the capitalists of all the nations will want to go back to the old system, and thus make new rivalries and new wars. We of the left, who want real freedom for all the people, and enterprise for humanity and not for wholesale greed, will have an enormous job to do, and a responsibility for the future of mankind.

Let us keep our guns trained on the enemy; and let us keep that unity in the peace which we have been compelled, willy-nilly, to keep in the war.

[We are a bit puzzled by Mr. Sinclair's statement. We agree with the view expressed in his first paragraph that one of the lessons to be learned from the consequences of past divisions among radicals "is to keep our guns trained on the enemy." And we unreservedly endorse the words of his final paragraph about the importance of maintaining in the future peace that unity which has been achieved in the war. But in between these two paragraphs there are sentences which give the impression that the main enemy is not Hitler and the Japanese, but the American capitalists. It is true that the economic system of fascism is capitalist. And it is also true that there are some American capitalists who admire the political system of fascism, which is largely murder, and would like to introduce it here. But it is likewise true that the *majority* of American capitalists today recognize fascist Germany and Japan as a menace to our national independence without which their own independent functioning would become impossible. That is why these capitalists, in contrast to the defeatist minority, want America to win and have joined with other classes and groups to assure victory. To raise other issues at this time, issues that accentuate conflicts between capital and labor, does not, it seems to us, contribute to the strengthening of that unity for war and peace which Mr. Sinclair urges.

Nor do we feel that the postwar situation, if the United Nations win, will be analagous to the situation after the last war, any more than this people's war can be compared to the imperialist war of 1914-18. With two major non-imperialist countries, the Soviet Union and China, on our side, with labor playing an increasingly influential role, with the tides of liberation sweeping through the colonial and semi-colonial world, the prospect for a decent, democratic peace is infinitely more favorable than it was at the end of World War I.—The Editors].

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THE MIKHAILOVICH MYTH

If he has done any fighting, it has been against the Yugoslav Partisan and Volunteer Army. The victories he has stolen. What's going on within the country.

After the article below was set in type, Time *magazine for December 14 carried a story on Yugoslavia which ended the Mikhailovich myth once and for all.* Time *also acknowledged that the Partisan and Volunteer Army has become the only force in Yugoslavia fighting the Axis. Because the Mikhailovich legend will pop up again and because so many Americans have been misled by their newspapers, we are publishing below a background story to be followed by other articles on military and political developments in this key Balkan country.—The Editors.*

THERE has been plagiarism in literature but perhaps never before in the history of warfare has there been thievery in front line communiques. American newspapers have been the outlets for these thefts authored by one of their favorite "generals," Draja Mikhailovich of Yugoslavia. This country knows that the guerrilla armies of Yugoslavia have harassed and crippled Italo-German occupation forces. What we are only beginning to discover now is that Mikhailovich's "triumphs" have no basis in fact and that they are really the successes of partisan groups whom Mikhailovich and his Chetniks bitterly oppose. If Mikhailovich has done any fighting, it has been against the Yugoslav Partisan and Volunteer Army whose exploits furnish heroic examples of resistance.

Here is the story of one of Mikhailovich's synthetic victories. On October 9 last the Partisan Army announced over its secret radio, Free Yugoslavia, that "according to information, in the operations near Jajce and in the city itself, the Partisan brigades captured 500 enemy soldiers. . . ." Three days later the New York *Times* published a report of the same action and for the first time mentioned the Partisan fighters. "In the second half of September," said the *Times*, "a day and night battle was fought for the town of Jajce in Bosnia. Bands under the leadership of Kosta Nadich, formerly commander of a company in the Spanish republican army, attacked Jajce and after capturing it continued to mop up the enemy in the surrounding district. These reports say that Captain Nadich is head of all Bosnia patriots. This is the first time that the Soviet Press [the *Times* dispatch was datelined Moscow] has mentioned by name a Yugoslav patriot leader."

On October 17 and 25 the *Times* again reported from Moscow that the Partisan Army had captured Jajce from the Germans. Nevertheless, that did not keep the *Times* poobahs from damning the Partisans in much the same way they did the Chinese guerrillas several years ago. The *Times* excoriated the Yugoslav volunteers as "Communist bandits disowned by Moscow" and stated that the leader of the Jajce storming was a "bandit."

At this point the United Press by flicking a few teletype keys transformed what was a victory for the Partisan and Volunteer Army into a glorious triumph for Mikhailovich, who undoubtedly was as much surprised about it as the Nazis. But having been presented with an unearned victory, Mikhailovich happily accepted. For the official bulletin of the Yugoslav government, published in New York, quoted the United Press from London: . . . "Yugoslav circles state that the patriotic units of Gen. Draja Mikhailovich captured the town of Jajce near Banja Luka in a terrific fight. . . ."

This story can be multiplied a dozen-fold. Any analysis of the bulletins emanating from Yugoslav sources in London and from Istanbul (where most of the Chetnik fantasies are born) when compared with the bulletins of the Partisan and Volunteer Army proves that Mikhailovich has lifted the latter's victories one after another. It is also interesting that Axis newspapers constantly refer to the Partisans (who use "cunning and unfair methods of fighting") but never mention any of Mikhailovich's forces.

WHAT is the Partisan and Volunteer Army of Yugoslavia? First it is the armed expression of the Yugoslav National Liberation Front, composed of all classes and nationalities. In Slovenia, for example, the front consists of the Liberation Federation of the Slovenian people, the Catholic Socialist Party, the Sokols (nationalist sports organization), the Democratic Party, the Slovenian Peasant Party (representing rich peasants and certain sections of landowners), the Communist Party, the Peasant Youth, the Young Communist League, the Women's Federation, and the United Workers and Peasant Youth.

Soon after the Axis occupation in April 1941 large numbers of Yugoslav peasants took to the hills and woods. There the first Partisan bands were formed. With the attack on the Soviet Union and after the meeting of the

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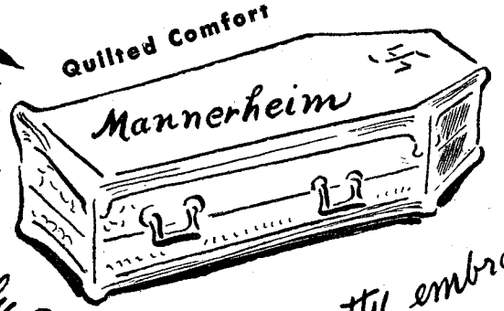
THIS CHRISTMAS BE A PRACTICAL SANTA

GIVE A Present WITH A Future

Beauty Rest

Quilted Comfort



Nickel Plated

And such a lovely one, too - with pretty embroidered filigree dedication set in a dainty Spray.

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for Congressman Clare Hoffman

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The ideal Magic gift of Fragrance

Hand Woven

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Strait Jacket

& 2pr. pants

made to order for Musolini

solve all your gift problems

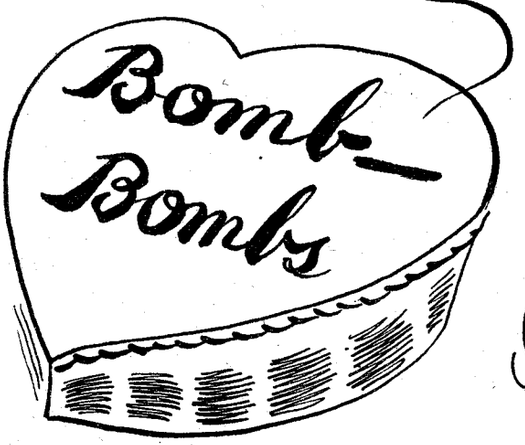
Gifts worthy of the one you love most dearly.

for Franco

Make him feel loved....

Adored - Beautiful

Bomb-Bombs



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Gropper

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All Slav Congress in Moscow, organization moved at a quick pace. And in August 1941 the first conference of representatives of Partisan detachments from throughout Yugoslavia took place in the Bosnia mountains. The unit leaders came from all walks of life. There was the priest Zechevich; former officers in the Yugoslav army; peasants like Dudich senior and Jefto Bosnjak; veteran commanders from the Spanish International Brigade. All nationalities of Yugoslavia—Serb, Croat, Slovene, Montenegran, etc.—were represented. Included were Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Mohammedans, and Jews. And interestingly enough there even arose two international brigades comprised of Austrians, Hungarians, German and Italian anti-fascists.

A supreme command was established with jurisdiction over all regional commands. Partisan newspapers began appearing regularly. The secret radio station Free Yugoslavia gave instructions to the country on how to carry on the fight against the invaders and reported to the world on the course of the struggle.

By the close of last summer the Partisan Army grew to 300,000, including several thousand women. Strategy was expressed in a simple slogan: "Strike the enemy *now,* don't wait! Waiting for a better opportunity means death." And after a summer of offensive operations—converted in American newspapers into Mikhailovich successes—over one-third of Yugoslavia is free, including hundreds of cities and villages. A harvest was gathered by the peasants in liberated regions. Large quantities of arms were taken from the enemy. Tens of thousands of Axis and quisling troops were killed and several Axis divisions were diverted from the Eastern Front.

WHAT were Mikhailovich and his Chetniks doing while the Partisans were fighting?

But before we answer, a word should be said about the Chetniks. A Chetnik is a member of a "cheta" or band. This organization arose early in the century to fight for the liberation of the Serbian nation from the Austrian and Turkish empires. After the formation of Yugoslavia, with the reactionary Serbian rulers in power, the Chetniks became an oppressive force whose strong-arm men were used by the Yugoslav government to harass the progressive movement and the non-Serb nationalities. By 1941 the entire Chetnik organization became the property of Nazi agents and their quislings. Its official leader, Kosta Pecanac, immediately after the Nazi invasion, ordered the shooting of all who opposed the Germans and called for Chetnik volunteers to fight the "men in the woods." And in August and September of 1941, just as the Partisans were making tremendous progress, Pecanac, collaborating with the quisling governor of Serbia, Nedich, as well as with other heads of the Serbian Nazi party, organized anti-Partisan groups of Chetniks.

Mikhailovich had retired along with a number of Serbian officers to the mountains of central and western Serbia. For a while in 1941 the Partisan Army attempted to work with him; in his camp at the time were genuinely patriotic forces. The Partisans had even supplied Mikhailovich with arms. But whatever understanding existed was soon terminated by serious differences in policy. Mikhailovich's Chetniks began murdering Partisan fighters and leaders. Soon after, the news arrived of Mikhailovich's negotiations with Germans and Italians as well as with Serbian quislings.

In November of this year *Slobodna Rec,* the American-Serbian anti-fascist newspaper, published a statement issued on May 15, 1942, by the headquarters command of the Slovenian Partisan Units, which helps explain why it was impossible to work with Mikhailovich. The statement emphasizes that there no longer existed a Mikhailovich army. "The remains of his following in Serbia have joined the Nedich army, against which the Partisans are carrying on the sharpest battles," since these forces were now part of the Nazi occupation army.

HERE is another interesting point which casts light on Mikhailovich's partners. In May of this year the *Yugoslav Glasnik* in Cairo, a Mikhailovich paper, published a dispatch from Nazi-controlled Vichy which denied the capture of Mikhailovich by the Germans. The Germans denied the capture as follows: "The news of the capture of General Mikhailovich arose by mistake after the capture of Major Dangic, the other leader of the Serbian patriots who was captured a while ago and succeeded in escaping to his units." This pleasant, friendly announcement (notice the use of the word "patriots" in preference to the usual Nazi slanders against those who fight them) confirms the known fact that Dangic was permitted to escape in order to continue his attacks on the Partisans. Dangic, on the recommendation of Mikhailovich, was decorated by the Yugoslav government-in-exile and advanced in rank.

Another incident indicative of the treachery in the Mikhailovich camp is the following. A Major Kalabich, assistant to Mikhailovich, led the Chetniks at the head of an Italian division against the Partisans. Kalabich's outfit was defeated and he himself wounded. But somehow he managed to reach Belgrade where the quisling Nedich personally thanked and decorated him. Here again, on the recommendation of Mikhailovich, the Yugoslav government produced a medal for Kalabich.

Mikhailovich's double-dealing became so serious a menace to the liberation of Yugoslavia and the Allied cause that on June 16, 1942 the Free Yugoslavia radio broadcast a statement condemning him in no uncertain terms. The statement was signed by seventy-five prominent Yugoslav citizens which included senators, members of the Ecclesiastic courts, former government officials, several priests, officers of the Yugoslav army, editors of former government papers, writers, and mayors. They appealed to the Yugoslav government-in-exile to stop Mikhailovich from continuing his fifth column work. In reply the "greater Serbia" chauvinist group in the Yugoslav government-in-exile gave approval to Mikhailovich's war against the People's Partisan Army.

IN A RECENT series of two articles in the New York *Times* its military analyst, Hanson Baldwin, wrote that Mikhailovich was not doing much these days. According to Baldwin, Mikhailovich was waiting for an opportune moment. This waiting policy, as a matter of fact, represents Mikhailovich's bankruptcy. For the Partisan Units have not waited nor have they given the excuse that they lack ammunition. Mikhailovich waits "for the decisive hour" as part of a larger strategy pursued by the Yugoslav government in exile. In a broadcast on the occasion of the Allied offensive in North Africa, the Yugoslav Prime Minister, Jovanovich, emphasized that "In the name of the Royal Government, I want to point out to everyone, especially to you, Serbs, not to take action too soon, for the decisive hour has not struck yet. General Mikhailovich and we here will not miss the opportunity to call you into the fight when the hour comes. . . . Be patient and wait. . . ."

Waiting for a nice moment plays into the hands of Axis forces who want nothing better than a respite. Delay gives the Nazis opportunities to improve their coastal fortifications, concentrate their armies, and make Allied blows infinitely more difficult. Mikhailovich's waiting policy will increase the cost in American lives and materiel. This crucial matter is completely understood by the Yugoslav National Liberation Front. The Front recognizes that Yugoslavia may be an active Allied theater of operations against Italy; that the Partisan Army can pave the way to severing Berlin from Rome. *Osvobodilna Fronta,* organ of the Slovenian liberation movement, wrote in one of its editorials that "Only active deeds, only fight and struggle will insure freedom to the people. Fear of spilling blood, fear of sacrifices leads peoples to destruction. . . . Nothing must obstruct the highest duty of the patriot to become an active fighter for the peoples' liberty, to become a Partisan. The hour has struck. It presses with all its might upon the people and demands action from them. . . ."

Mikhailovich has followed a line directly to the contrary. His watch and wait tactic is evidence that he is not carrying on any battles against the Axis. His "victories," as we have already shown, are lifted from the Partisan army. The Germans and Italians are quite content to have Mikhailovich wait.

The Mikhailovich policy will also create, as it already has, serious military consequences in the Balkans for the United Nations. Mikhailovich has played group against group, and on the international stage, ally against ally. Military necessity demands, as our government noted in Mr. Welles' statement on China, that complete unity be established in Yugoslavia, that traitors be branded traitors. The unconquerable Partisans need our help. We cannot give it to them by perpetuating the Mikhailovich myth.

STEVEN DEDIER
TONY MINERICH.

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IF THIS BE REASON...by RICHARD O. BOYER

TOM PAINE WROTE ON A DRUMHEAD . . .

"WORDS can be bullets," we are told. But are *our* words bullets? Or are they sometimes mere collections of syllables that cannot move or pierce or strike? Is there within them any hint of the desperate exultation of the nameless soldier who throws his body beneath the tank's crunching steel? Do our phrases pull the sterile headlines into meaning when they proclaim "Thousands Executed"? Do they reveal the high, proud terror of that final moment when the body braces for the deadly impact? Are our words worthy of the great time in which we live, of the great struggle in which we are engaged? Do they rally men as did the calm, majestic urgency of Paine and Garrison and Lincoln?

I believe the answers to these questions are implied by a section of a recent article by Gilbert Green. In writing of the last elections he says, "We must face the fact that this [the reelection of appeasers] does not show a very high degree of understanding on the part of a large section of the population. It shows that many people who are loyal and patriotic and who undoubtedly want to see the nation emerge victorious in the war, do not as yet understand the nature of this war as a war of national survival, do not understand the issues at stake and the danger to the country and to the existence of the nation, and do not as yet see the full role of the defeatists."

Here is an implied indictment to which every honest writer will wish to plead guilty. We spoke, but we were not heard. Our words were not bullets. They did not contain that convincing clarity which has the quality of motion and is its own distributor. A sentence that sings with truth travels through the hearts of men. It is passed from person to person. The honest writer, it seems to me, will not take refuge in the myriad other circumstances that contributed to the election defeats save as it heightens his own resolve, improves his own work. For when all is said and done, one fact remains. We wrote. We were not read. When all is said and done, when every excuse is made and every factor explained, the fact remains, Green says, that wide segments of the population do not realize that unless we win the war they will live the ugly lives of slaves. They do not know it. It is our job to make them know it and I submit that to do it American writing must ascend an octave, must strike a new and all-compelling note.

How can we do it? How can we attain the rallying magnificence of Paine's "The Crisis," which opened with the lines, "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it *now,* deserves the love and thanks of men and women." How can we gain the impassioned immediacy, the imperative urgency of William Lloyd Garrison when he wrote, ". . . urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present! I am in earnest. I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD! The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead."

What is the source of great writing? Primarily it springs from a great and crucial time but more specifically it is the result of *participation* in that age, of suffering and fighting and struggling for the progressive ideals of revolutionary times. The very crux of great writing is participation and identification. Paine wrote "The Crisis" on a drumhead at Valley Forge and the fires and battles of the Revolution were intertwined with all his being. He was *there;* and, to a degree, he was *it.* A price was placed on Garrison's head and every phrase he uttered came from a hot reality that included being led through the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck, included being jailed to prevent his being lynched. Intense participation in the councils of the Revolution, in the struggles to build a people's movement which followed, marked almost every instant of Jefferson's adult life. And Lincoln—Lincoln in the White House, Lincoln brooding, praying, thinking, groaning, joking, he was the very flesh and blood and soul of the Civil War as every beat of his clear, simple sentences revealed.

My point is this: We are not participating to the degree we should. As far as our writers are concerned they are not *there,* if by *there* we mean the heroic battlefields and far-flung factories of this global war. The Hearst man is there but most of us are not. The Chicago *Tribune* is there but important segments of the win-the-war press are far away. You cannot describe this epic, worldwide struggle from an office. This is a knotty problem, one with many ramifications, but it seems to me one to which we should address our energies.

But there are more kinds of writing than reportage. There is political writing and I believe that someone should say there is more to political writing than being correct. If a correct formulation is not read it is useless. If a wise policy is not expressed with sufficient fire and eloquence to get it read, a political mistake as well as a literary one has been made. Pointing a proper path is not enough.

Moreover, it could be argued that a dull political tract reveals not an inability to write but an indication that the political point which it endeavors to express has not been thoroughly mastered. For good writing is the perfect harmony between substance and form; and a genuine mastery of content, a genuine effort to solve not only *what* should be said but *how* it should be said, is almost certain to lead to style—and therefore to *communication.* At any rate, it seems to me that to be concerned with content at the expense of style is non-dialectic, obscurantist, and, above all, self-defeating.

One more point. We have a rich storehouse of American writing to which we cannot pay merely mechanical obeisance without serious danger to that for which we are striving. It is not enough to acknowledge it. We must know it, love it, and, above all, understand it. We must know every line of Lowell, Douglass, Phillips, Lincoln, Thoreau, Whitman, Franklin, Cooper, Bryant, Brown, Wise, Otis, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, Henry, and Emerson, for in their accents there is the beat and rhythm which is dear to the American ear. For consultation and collaboration and collective thought are only the beginning. Then, with this necessary work done, the true writer must draw correct policies deep within himself and in that lonely region he will find the terms which will make men listen—and believe.

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WHAT ABOUT AMERICA'S HEALTH?

John A. Kingsbury puts the spotlight on the American Medical Association. How it hinders the solution to the critical question of medical care today. Reactions to Surgeon General Parran's recent article.

No one at all familiar with the inadequacy of medical care and its maldistribution throughout the nation in peacetime can doubt that a critical situation confronts the country today. Surgeon General Thomas Parran's apprehension concerning medical care in wartime is fully justified. [The author is referring to Dr. Parran's speech published in New Masses of December 1.] Although he says there is at the moment no scientific evidence of an impending influenza epidemic like the devastating one that struck us in 1918, he wisely cautions that no one can safely predict that we shall escape. He, therefore, is concerned not only because the war effort is today being impeded by lack of adequate medical facilities in communities all over the land, but also because the medical home front will feel the pressure of war increasingly. It is indeed the civilian's fight as well as the soldier's and surely we must be ready to meet the incalculable demands with the remaining medical services.

But how? There's the rub. Surely not by the present method of control and distribution of medical care. Not by a Procurement and Assignment Service which "cooperates" with the American Medical Association—an organization which *operates* while the service *cooperates!* The administration has tried for the past ten years to cooperate with the AMA hierarchy with the result that its best laid plans have gone awry.

Nothing short of a comprehensive national health plan under the direction of a competent health authority completely free from dominance of the AMA hierarchy or entangling alliances with so-called "organized medicine" will meet the situation. Soon after he came to power, President Roosevelt attempted to cope with the chaotic condition of medical care in the country by the appointment of the Committee on Economic Security. His committee undertook the solution of this problem of the national health as well as unemployment, old age, and other problems of social security. The AMA successfully blocked this effort, but a loophole was left in the Social Security bill: further study was authorized by the Social Security Board. Accordingly a comprehensive study of the nation's health was made, and on July 18, 1938, the people of the United States climbed the ridge of a hill and saw on the horizon a health program for democracy. On that day, a well conceived plan first became visible, and within the space of three days, July 18-20, a nation saw how to convert that plan into a working reality.

The occasion was the National Health Conference held in Washington, D. C., called by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities. The conference was the culmination of years of effort to bring health services and medical care to the American people. Not only were the unmet needs effectively presented, but also a program to meet them was submitted to the country under such auspices and with such authority that representatives of our citizens showed themselves eager to get on with the job.

Dr. Parran said at that conference: "We are witnessing here in Washington another kind of progress in medicine—an effort to put medical science to work. The National Health Conference may well be the greatest event in medical science in our time."

Dr. Morris Fishbein, editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association and the effective boss of the AMA, contributed the following to the discussion at the National Health Conference: "A program planned in the light of conditions in this country during the past ten years cannot be a far-reaching program planned for a nation which is to go forward during the next ten years. The first problem for the government is to relieve those conditions. . . . Let us concern ourselves first with the question of food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and a job with adequate wages. . . . I could tear to pieces many of these data and these figures. It is not the thing to do." But under cover he and his fellow merchants of medicine who compose the AMA hierarchy proceeded to do it—in spite of the fact that the Congress, the President, and the people were eager to get on with the job.

Ray Lyman Wilbur

Chancellor, Stanford University, California

I have gone over the article by Dr. Thomas Parran. As you probably realize, here in California, through the California Physician's Service, we have been working out a statewide program of medical and hospital care directly under the auspices of the California State Medical Association but through an independent group. We have some 6,000 doctors on our list and are endeavoring now to meet the situations in several of the military and industrial areas which are mentioned by Dr. Parran.

Group practice will inevitably increase and the movement toward making the hospital the center for medical care is growing, as some of us thought it would in outlining our plans some years ago. It seems to me that we are going through some very interesting development stages which will develop new conceptions in the handling of medical care.

What were the recommendations of this National Health Conference which the AMA hierarchy tore to pieces? Briefly summarized they were:

1. (a) Expansion of public health services; (b) expansion of maternal and child health services and services for crippled children;
2. Expansion of hospital facilities;
3. Medical care for the medically needy;
4. A general program of medical care;
5. Insurance against loss of wages during illness.

Not a very radical program! Yet it was torn to pieces by the AMA hierarchy which is "co*operating*" with the Procurement and Assignment Service.

And finally what did the President do about these recommendations? On Jan. 12, 1939, his Committee reported to him, and on January 23 he sent a special message to Congress from which I quote a few passages: ". . . The health of the people is a public concern; ill health is a major cause of suffering, economic loss, and dependency; good health is essential to the security and progress of the Nation. . . . It was recognized at the time (when the Social Security Act was passed) that a comprehensive health program was required as a link in our national defenses against individual and social insecurity. Further study seemed necessary at that time to determine ways and means of providing this protection most effectively." The report concludes:

"We have reason to derive great satisfaction from the increase in the average length of life in our country and in the improvement of the average level of health and well being. *Yet these improvements in the averages are cold comfort to the millions of our people whose security in health and survival is still as limited as was that of the Nation as a whole fifty years ago. (Italics mine—JAK).*

"I recommend the report of the interdepartmental committee for careful study by the Congress. The essence of the program recommended by the Committee is Federal-State Cooperation. Federal legislation necessarily precedes, for it indicates the assistance which may be made available to the states in a cooperative program for the nation's health."

Directly after the President's message was received by Congress, Sen. Robert F. Wagner of New York announced that he was preparing a bill to put the National Health Program before Congress for action.

What happened to the Wagner Bill to provide a comprehensive National Health Program which the President said was recognized "as an essential link in our national defenses against individual and social insecurity?"

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Despite previous resolutions and assurances of cooperation (such as the AMA now gives the Procurement and Assignment Service), assurances that its services are at the disposal of the government, the AMA came to Washington and said in effect to the United States Senate: "We do not like this bill. It is bad, it is full of bad provisions. You didn't ask us to help you write the bill, and so we can't help you rewrite it. We do not want federal health legislation; health isn't the business of the federal government. And if it were a good bill, it would put us in control of health administration."

I think this and its subsequent similar words and actions mean that the AMA will, as long as possible, fight against any new legislation and work to undermine any government agency (such as the Procurement and Assignment Service) which has for its purpose the extension and improvement of health services, unless such legislation or service is under AMA control.

NO PALLIATIVE measures or appeasement will meet the critical situation which Surgeon General Parran has so effectively described. I repeat: Nothing short of a comprehensive national health plan under the direction of a competent national health authority designated by the President will solve the critical problem of medical care either in wartime or in peacetime. Nobody knows that better than Dr. Parran. He has been infinitely patient. He will have to be eternally vigilant, even to prevent epidemics under the present arrangements, hamstrung as he is by the AMA hierarchy. How can the Surgeon General of the US Public Health Service be expected to give more than "cold comfort to the millions of people whose security in health and survival is still as limited as was that of the nation as a whole fifty years ago," unless the President decides to steamroller the AMA hierarchy, put through his National Health Plan, and vest full power in a competent health authority?

JOHN A. KINGSBURY.

PLANNING FOR MEDICAL CARE

New Masses' suggestion for the prevention of epidemics, for maternal and child health and provision for general medical care operating through a central agency. A basis for further discussion.

THE publication of Dr. Parran's address to the Southern Medical Association in NEW MASSES clearly indicates that planning for the health of the civilian population is part of the centralized planning necessary to win the war. His comprehensive survey of present inadequacy, resulting from lack of foresight in the handling of medical personnel and equipment, points the urgency of adopting a plan of medical and health organization as part of a centralized war economy. Such a plan can only be forthcoming when the problem is discussed in relation to needs rather than in terms of availability of personnel, as methods of training personnel become clearer as the nature of the problem is expanded. To stimulate discussion among our readers we offer the following general statement of needs for some discussion on methods of solution. This is in no sense a blueprint, as our country is too large, and local conditions too variable, for one blueprint for all localities.

We begin with the needs that are general in war production areas, for it is obvious that these areas must be serviced first if production is to keep climbing. First is the need to prevent epidemics, whether of flu, pneumonia, venereal disease, tuberculosis, or children's diseases. Second is the need for maternal and child care. And third, the need to provide medical care for other types of illness or disease, whether industrial or general. These three major needs are projected against a background of shortages caused by dislocation of physicians, shortage of nurses, shortage of hospital facilities, and lack of public education in matters pertaining to general health problems.

How are these needs to be met? Obviously, not by the stand-pat, medicine-as-usual-or-worse position of the American Medical Association's guiding spirits, disdainful of any form of medical organization not under the AMA's direct control, and fearful that any change in the pattern of existing services will "socialize" the profession.

The only organization in the country today equipped to handle the first need, prevention of epidemics and their control, is the US Public Health Service. It alone, in cooperation with state and local health departments, has developed the necessary techniques for combating epidemic conditions which recognize no state boundaries. Obviously it must immediately expand the scope of its activities and take over control of such conditions in every war production area where its services will be welcomed by the workers who, above all else, dread the possibility of epidemics which can spread with the rapidity of the recent Boston night-club fire, in areas where sewer drainage, water supply, and housing conditions are critical. And of what war production area is this not true?

For the second need, maternal and child care services, we suggest that the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, already acutely aware of the problem and definitely interested in its solution, be given the authority to extend its services, especially in those areas where there is continued rising employment of women in war industry. We feel that this government agency, which has testified to its knowledge of that problem at the Pepper committee hearings, can begin to solve this question in cooperation with the US Health Service.

The third need, general medical care for production workers, falls naturally into two categories: prevention and control of industrial hazards and diseases; and provision for treating general illness. The first category, industrial illness, should be tackled in the plants and factories, and will be, as the unions call for the State Federal Divisions of Industrial Hygiene to investigate and develop programs for safety precautions, emergency accident care, and prevention of industrial diseases in cooperation with labor-management and union production committees.

For the second category, care for general illness, we recommend that the government adopt a plan, possibly through the United States Public Health Service, for rationing the available supply of physicians and allocating them as officers commissioned for civilian duty. These would include women physicians, Negro physicians, and those ineligible for active military service. Knowing full well that the pattern of medical care differs in many localities, we suggest that wherever voluntary health insurance plans are already in operation through unions, management, and medical cooperatives, these be continued. In those areas —and they are the majority—where no such plans exist, the gap should be immediately filled by the allocation of physicians on a financial and ranking basis similar to that now in effect for physicians in the armed forces.

In addition, we feel that much could be accomplished by developing a program of training for health care, similar to that for nurses' aides, which would enroll the services of thousands of women for home nursing, care of convalescents, laboratory techniques, case finding, etc. Such a training program, undertaken in cooperation with the Office of Civilian Defense, would soon enlarge the personnel available to various public health agencies and be an invaluable supplement to already existing trained personnel.

It can readily be seen from the outlines of these tentative proposals that we are in effect calling for a pattern of services uniting both preventive and curative medicine on an organized group basis in every war production area with authority placed in the hands of the United States Public Health Service or any wider medical agency which might be created to unite already existing government bureaus and divisions now handling the problem separately, or not at all.

This is the program we place before the country: for a plan which outlines the major problems in war areas—prevention of epidemics, maternal and child care, and provision for general medical care, operating through a central agency. All these proposals should be considered not as problems in themselves, but as part of the general problem of medical manpower and facilities necessary to help our country win the war on the production front.

THE EDITORS.

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TRAGIC ODYSSEY

"Suez to Singapore" describes the policy that allowed the easy victories the Mikado won in the Far East. Cecil Brown's terrible moral for "you—you—you." A review by Richard O. Boyer.

SUEZ TO SINGAPORE, *by Cecil Brown. Random House. $3.50.*

WITH Darlan's menacing role in Africa apparently gaining a stability that smacks little of temporary expediency; with certain powerful elements still convinced that the war can be won by smart dickering with the fascists of Vichy, Finland, Spain, and even of Italy; with others more anxious to control Europe's future than to invade it—with all this and more in the headlines Cecil Brown's book becomes urgently required reading.

For this book is a case history of error. If it proves anything it proves that incorrect policies end in disaster. Although the events described by Columbia's radio correspondent begin with his expulsion from Rome by the fascist regime early in 1941 and proceed to the debacle of Yugoslavia and Greece, touching the middle phases of the desert war in Egypt, the book's main burden is the fiasco of Singapore. Although Brown continued from that ill-fated city to the Dutch East Indies, thence to Australia, and finally arrived in San Francisco on March 29, 1942, three-quarters of his odyssey deals with the disaster which ended in the fall of the British naval base.

The result is a case history for those who imagine that war and politics are divisible. This is a document for those whose refrain is, leave it to the experts. The defense of Malay and Singapore was left to the experts. That, according to Brown, was why they fell. For the British defeat was not primarily a military one. It was the result of an archaic colonial mentality which looked upon Malay's defense as exclusively the white man's burden. The primary cause of the debacle was the rigid refusal of the military, aided and abetted by British colonial officials, even to consider permitting the Asiatic population—which included about nine-tenths of the inhabitants—to participate in its own defense.

THIS, at any rate, is Brown's diagnosis and he documents it thoroughly. I met Brown briefly in Rome a few days after the fascists, convinced that the war was over save for picking up the loot, declared war on France. He is tall, thin, attenuated, with a daub of a flaxen mustache and a manner that is weary and blase. There was little in his appearance to suggest the single-minded, passionate devotion to the truth as he saw it which characterized his coverage of the war in the Far East.

From his arrival in Singapore in August until he left it just before its fall, Brown was dismayed and appalled by the British colonial mind. To him it seemed as outmoded as a covered wagon. In the first place British officials and British residents were sublimely convinced that the Japanese would never attack. In the second place they were convinced that if they did attack they could easily be defeated by almost any aggregation of *white* men. And in the third place they felt nothing was so important, not even the possible loss of the war, as keeping the native in his place. When the Japanese struck, Brown also found that the British were capable of incredible heroism but that the most selfless gallantry was pathetic futility if basic policies were wrong.

OVER the radio he was unsparing in his criticism. The world, he felt, had to know these things, for if it did not it could not profit from the tragic errors being made. As a result he was barred from the radio by British authorities. As the Japanese edged ever nearer, infiltrating through British forces and through the jungles down the peninsula of Malay, Brown, referring to treatment of the natives, wrote in his diary:

"It is brutal. Many of these people [the Asiatics] are going to die. They are supposed to be calm, cool, and courageous in the face of bombers and advancing Japs. But the authorities do not trust them to have the courage to know what is going on. They've been given no vision of what victory would mean. The Malays especially are indifferent whether the British or the Japs are here.

"I'm convinced practically all the Malays and most of the Chinese and Indians here don't feel they are fighting for freedom but just to maintain a system they no longer want. I don't think there is in their hearts the dream and reality of the people's war." Later he remarks, "The British are not using the natives to guide them through the jungles and swamps. They are afraid to trust them."

Even before the city fell, British critics in Parliament were asking why British authorities in Singapore had not armed natives and Chinese. In addition it was asked again and again why Chiang Kai-shek's offer of Chinese troops for the defense of Malaya was refused. Brown writes:

"These two questions can be answered very easily. The British here have considered the Japanese and Chinese as being the same. The Colonial Administration, and specifically Colonial Secretary Jones, has been unable to distinguish between the Chinese as allies and the Japanese as potential enemies and now actual enemies. They have refused to give the Chinese guns."

BROWN attributes all this to what he calls the "Singapore mentality." He wrote before Singapore fell: "The absence of ability to view affairs realistically and the specific atrophying malady of dying-without-death, best known as the 'Singapore mentality,' largely helped to bring the Japanese more than 125 miles inside of Malaya. This walking death is characterized in all affairs, except making money from tin and rubber, having *stengahs* between five and eight, keeping fit, being known as a 'good chap,' and getting thoroughly 'plawstered' on Saturday night.

"Its objective is to treat any change, however slight, with a snort through the nose hanging over a whiskey glass, to stay aloof from the affairs of Malaya for thirty years, then return to England with money, remaining untouched by the problems of Malaya and its natives and the future of the colony."

Brown's book has been criticized for the bluntness of its language and its urgent, imperative tone. It is true that in his words there is the suggestion of one crying of danger in a gale so fierce that he fears it may swallow his voice and therefore shrieks uncommonly loud. It is true that in his pages there is sometimes a nightmare quality as if the writer felt that he was having a terrible dream in which he knew with scientific certainty of overwhelming danger but was unable to give warning with an urgency sufficient to arouse the fat, sleek, and blind. With a fierce impatience he tells of a hundred illustrious dunderheads

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who still think that the war is academic, a matter for specious debate and canny dealing, in which there is still a comfortable margin for the luxury of being wrong. He shouts that the penalty of being wrong is death. To all those wrapped in habit, clothed in routine, cacooned in the fuzzy ways of peace, he calls, "Believe me! You! *You!* You will suffer death and slavery if we lose!"

To my mind the wonder is that the call is not more frantic. For from Suez to Singapore Brown saw brave men by the thousands die horrible and needless deaths because of a widespread psychology that this war is a private war—one to be fought by professionals, one in which the people may be required to die but one in which they should not otherwise participate.

If this attitude persists, Brown writes, we will lose the war as we lost Malay and Singapore. In writing this he was an accurate prophet as far as the subsequent conquest of Burma was concerned. It is to be hoped that his words will be heeded in relation to India and Africa; though it is to be confessed that resounding statements in Britain to the general effect, "We will keep what we now have," give little evidence that Brown's words have been heeded or that the disasters he describes have taught a lesson.

For the nub of Brown's book, it seems to me, is this: Only through arming the colonial peoples, only through convincing them by concrete action that they are fighting for their own liberty can we win this global war in which more than three-quarters of the inhabitants of the earth are colonial peoples. Unless we really mean, without reserve, that the peoples of Asia, Africa, South America, *and Europe,* shall be the free arbiters of their own destinies we shall be in mortal danger of losing the war. Unless we really mean this and work with deep purpose for it, any peace that may arrive will be only a lull, only an armistice, only a pause. The world is in its present situation because of unsolved problems. A reactionary peace will solve no problems. It will merely aggravate them—and the problems will remain for solution.

RICHARD O. BOYER.

Literary Giant

VICTOR HUGO, *by Matthew Josephson. Doubleday-Doran. $3.50.*

In these days of France's re-awakening it is good to read of Victor Hugo. He is one of the giants of French literature, a truly national poet. He bestrides the rich, troubled nineteenth century in a literal, almost a physical sense. He was born in 1802, when the first Napoleon turned his back on the liberating French Revolution and—crowning himself emperor—overran all Europe with his armies. Hugo witnessed the Bourbon Restoration of 1815, the "three glorious days" of the July 1830 revolution, the barricades of 1848, the criminal despotism of Louis Napoleon—"Na-

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poleon the Little" in Hugo's scorching phrase —the French debacle of 1870 in the war against Bismarck's Prussia, and the heroic Paris Commune of 1871. He died in 1885, ten years after the formation of the Third Republic. What a rich, full, and comprehensive life!

Hugo was a man of tremendous physical and intellectual energies. His various writings run to some sixty volumes. He was voracious in his appetite for food as well as for literature. Indeed, there was something oceanic in him, an exuberance, a constant ebb and flow, a vast sweep akin to the turbulent waters of the sea which washed the shores of Jersey and Guernsey, two Channel islands where he spent years of exile. He was himself obsessed with this parallel and wrote about it, principally in his novel *Toilers of the Sea*. He was a master of his craft, at home in lyric and epic poetry, in the drama, the novel, and political pamphleteering.

Matthew Josephson's biography is a thorough, solid, and highly readable work. The book is scholarly without being elaborate, musty, or academic. At the same time it is lively without becoming one of those glittering and highly colored "romanced lives" made popular by men like Lytton Strachey and Andre Maurois. It shows a wide knowledge of the period in which Hugo lived, although occasionally the author's interpretations of French nineteenth century history—for example, in his treatment of the Revolution of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871—are open to question.

JOSEPHSON is at his best when he writes of the final four decades of Hugo's life. The earlier portions of the book are too much concerned with Hugo's personal habits, his amours and escapades, the Sainte-Beuve-Mme. Hugo scandal, the affair with Juliette Drouet. But in the second half of the book Hugo's growth in stature is reflected in Josephson's enlarged horizons and richer interpretations. Hugo the man is situated within the framework of his times.

There are moments when his enthusiasm leads Josephson to an excess of praise, a glossing over of some of Hugo's shortcomings. Some of Hugo's literary works are rhetorical, verbose, inflated, over-sentimental. They are not free of the posturing and attitudinizing so common to many of the nineteenth century romantic writers. In retrospect the furious literary controversy about his play *Hernani*, for example, seems a tempest in a teapot. Hugo was at times inordinately vain, self-centered, and inconsistent. Success came easily and early to him. At nineteen his fame as a poet was established in France. He was the "Sublime Child." In the first forty-odd years of his life he indulged in not a few compromises and questionable bids for favor from men in high places. In politics he was changeable. He commenced adult life as an ardent Bourbon Royalist. During the July monarchy after 1830 he was on excellent terms with the reigning Orleans family. He was even

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friendly to Louis Napoleon for a brief space until that usurping despot showed his true colors by staging his *coup d'etat* in 1851, an act grimly foreshadowing—as Josephson points out—the fascist *coups* of our own time.

But the 1848 Revolution seemed to be a Great Watershed in Hugo's life. Previously he had been groping his way toward the people. But his thinking had been muddled and ill-defined, a hodge-podge of doctrines of utopian Socialism, mild republicanism, and vague humanitarianism mingled with a kind of messianic faith in himself as the "man of utopias, his feet upon earth, his eyes turned skyward." But after 1848, particularly after 1851, came bitter years of exile, a deepening of experience, and knowledge born of suffering for a cause. The poet then became a "crystal soul," reflecting the desires and aspirations of his people. These were the years of his greatest literary work; the powerful social novel *Les Miserables,* the stirring political pamphlet *Napoleon the Little,* the savagely satirical poems of *Les Chatiments,* and the grandiose poems of *Legende des Siecles.*

Now Hugo was a world figure, like Zola "a moment in the conscience of mankind." He came close to the people of France and they loved and honored him as *Pere La Republique.* He, the former peer of royalist France, was now Citizen Hugo, a Jacobin in life as well as letters. He threw himself heart and soul into the fight for a French democratic republic. He achieved something of the nobility of a Lincoln, the expansive warmth of a Whitman, the liberating fervor of a Garibaldi. On every crucial issue henceforth —whether in literature, politics, or life—he stood on the side of the people. He fought oppression, tyranny, and privilege. He warmly defended the martyred John Brown. He was not a Communard, but in Belgium he defended the Communard's right of asylum in the face of a hostile mob. And his art grew deeper. As he declared in a letter to an old acquaintance, Alphonse Karr:

"For my part, I have always tried, to the best of my abilities, to introduce into that which is called politics the moral question and the question of humanity. On moral ground, I fought Louis Bonaparte; in the name of humanity I raised my voice in aid of the oppressed of all lands and all parties. I feel that I have done right. My conscience bears me out."

So it is heartening to trace, as Josephson has done, Hugo's evolution toward a democratic way of life. He came late to the cause of the people. But once he embraced that faith, he did not falter or lose heart. Victor Hugo is great not only because of the powerful novels and poems he wrote; not only because of his anthology pieces which schoolboys commit to memory. He is great because in the late afternoon of his life he came to know and understand this simple teaching: "Only the people are immortal." He belongs to the human and humanist tradition of our culture.

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Memory—and War

THEN WE SHALL HEAR SINGING, *by Storm Jameson. Macmillan. $2.50.*

MEMORY is one of the secret weapons. Secure in the brain cells of a conquered people lingers the habit of freedom. The future as well as the past lies only half-drowsing in the memory of a nation like Czechoslovakia, the unnamed "conquered province" of this novel. And the word "memory" is the key-word of Miss Jameson's story. Let us imagine that it is five years after the end of the war in the "Protectorate," a country with a long memory for freedom and a people resilient under poverty, skeptical, enduring. We meet the conquered and the conquerors. The conquered are three or four families in a small village that had been taken, as had the whole country, by treachery. It is a village very much like that celebrated by Steinbeck in *The Moon Is Down.* It is any village in Czechoslovakia, Norway, France, the whole of Europe. The conquerors are chiefly the civil governor, his friend, Gen. Helmuth von Lesenow, and Dr. Hesse, whose peculiar mission in the territory is the fly-wheel of this history. They knew, of course, that a man's own tongue is a way back to that store of memories that contains the suffering, pride, and rebellion of his ancestors. But suppression of language was not enough. It was Dr. Hesse who discovered the ultimate technique in suppression. A trifling injury to the forebrain and you can "drop all pretense at educating them, they'll need training, that's all. You can imagine yourself directing a zoo."

LIKE Steinbeck, Miss Jameson is very much concerned, perhaps overly so, with the psychology of the invader himself. This too is a fugue on that unforgettable irony of Lieutenant Tonder's, "Flies conquer the flypaper." And one feels, reading both books, a little indifferent to the psychic difficulties of these men who have come to rob and enslave a peaceful nation.

I think that one should not be afraid to portray brutality, ugliness, moral degradation. These qualities exist in Hitler and his henchmen. What impulse is it that persuades a writer to refine these men—endow them with a sensibility that can only render them touching? So Colonel Lanzer, the commanding officer of an invasion party, remembers "The Apology," and the civil governor of Miss Jameson's province asks, "Will they be happy?" and adds, "It shocks me . . . only as a man with pretensions to knowing something, a little, about the past. I don't like to think of men losing their past. The memory of a nation costs too much to make. Ages of effort, devotion, suffering . . . all ended in a minute by Hesse's instruments. . . ."

Yet the book can be regarded—and so also can Steinbeck's—as something on a slightly different level from reality. It possesses extraordinary unity of tone, that of a fable, perhaps, in which the beasts speak like the philosophers. It succeeds too, in employing Miss

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Jameson's poetic style to the best advantage —to state with extraordinary grace the regenerative function of memory. For what is it that happens in the end to Vacslav and the rest in that quiet village? Simply that they remember. Despite Hesse's treatments they begin to piece together from the fragments that remain in the present, from the untouched recollections of one old woman, Anna, the old determination and courage of men who have been free. There are new rumors of "Thomases" in the hills, men who are named for that great man (can it be Thomas Masaryk?) who had been their statesman in the day of freedom. Yet one *caveat*—it is too simple to conclude thus that the debt shall be paid. For Socrates merely owed a cock to Asclepiades. The triumph of the good people over their oppressors is much more than the work of memory. It is something not to be contained by a delicate fantasy such as this. It is war.

MARIAN ANDREWS.

For Gentle Readers

THOROFARE, *by Christopher Morley. Harcourt, Brace. $2.75.*

I DOUBT that a book with no conflict in it, and in which the characters are revealed rather than developed, can properly be called a novel. On the other hand, it is pleasant to encounter 468 pages of competent writing with no glaring absurdities of plot or character. As a matter of fact, *Thorofare* is a treatise on the minor social and language differences between England and America, as illustrated by the transplanting of a professorial English family to a small Chesapeake college in 1897. This theme is necessarily of the gentlest, and while I understand the whole purpose of the book is to promote mutual understanding between the two countries, I don't think it will make much of a contribution.

For one thing, while *Thorofare* abounds in the kind of small sociological detail that made *Kitty Foyle* a best-seller, Mr. Morley doesn't reveal anything to the American reader that the British writers, always close observers of their own *mores,* haven't said before. And as for Mr. Morley's English readers, they must make out with kindly old Major Warren (Civil War, Confederate) as the only fully presented American type. The most interesting aspect of the book turns out to be its devotion to language: assimilation into a country is seen, correctly enough but with tremendous over-emphasis, as related to the assimilation of new language patterns by the immigrant. It is unfortunate that the well known Morley whimsy breaks out most noticeably in this connection—he finds it necessary for his youthful hero to construct a country called Geoffland, or Jeffland, in America—but the conversation is the better part of the book, which might on the whole be classed as an unseasonable bit of light but literary summer reading.

ROBERT ELLIS.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

ROBOTS, CAT PEOPLE, ET AL.

Some oddments on the stage and screen this week. About robots who are almost people, about people who are really cats. . . . And a play about the Cajuns of Louisiana.

EVEN twenty-two years ago, when it was first produced here, Karel Capek's play, *R.U.R.*, was not a good play or a clear one. It came out of a time when people (artists in particular) were beginning to wonder where the machine was leading us—as though the machine were a conscious force in the world instead of an instrument to be used by conscious men and women.

The "revolt against the machine" found many literary expressions—as, during the industrial revolution, it had found physical expression in sabotage. Men were put out of work by machines; hence they smashed them, not realizing that the machine itself wasn't their enemy. In Mr. Capek's play you find this rebellion carried to its logical conclusion—absurdity.

The Rossums, father and son, had invented a way of manufacturing men—a simplified form of man who had no "soul" and was designed only to do the work of the world. Humanitarians objected to this; demanded that the *robots* (which is Czech for workers) be made more like man, be treated better. A charming young woman induced the R.U.R. physiologist, Dr. Gall, to alleviate the unhappy lot of the robots. This he did. Result? Leaders grew up among the robots who organized them on a worldwide scale, and they rebelled, overthrowing, then killing every human being—except one. This one, not being a physiologist, could not work out the secret of their manufacture.

When the play first appeared it could have been interpreted in several different ways. This is still true. It *was* interpreted in 1922 as an attack on the man-destroying machine. It was interpreted as an attack on regimentation of human beings (as the present producers interpret it). And it was also interpreted as an attack on the Soviet Union—since the robots issued a manifesto starting, "Robots of the world, unite!"

The present production, by quoting President Roosevelt, is attempting to give an anti-fascist twist to the play: "It is the young, free men and women of the United Nations, and not the wound-up 'robots' of the slave states, who will mold the shape of the new world," said the President on September 3 of this year. This concept is carried further by having the robots wear an iron-cross emblem on their uniforms; by having the *fasces* worked into the motif of the stage set.

But the whole remains confusing, when it is not static. The entire first act is pure exposition—talk. And when the robots rebel in the second and third acts, Lee Strasberg, the director, has failed miserably in evoking what theatrical excitement was inherent in the idea of rebellion. You get to laughing at these robots instead of being terrified by them. Capek himself, however confused, was a generally progressive playwright, who died as the result of fascism's invasion of his native Czechoslovakia.

In the several roles of *R.U.R.* the actors were unable to give much vitality to a wound-up play. Better than others were Gudrun Hansen (as a blonde, female robot); Sydney Smith as the chief "agitator" among the robots; and Edith Atwater, who did the best she could with the impossible role of the human humanitarian who caused all the mischief. Boris Aronson's modernistic sets could be used for a better play.

For in order to mean anything these days, *R.U.R.* would have to be completely rewritten, so that we would know what the robots are supposed to represent—the regimented slaves of fascism or the conscious, organized working class of the world, fighting its way toward a world in which the machine will be the servant, not the master of mankind.

HERMAN SHUMLIN'S first production of this season is a dramatization of E. P. O'Donnell's novel, *The Great Big Doorstep*. The play version was done by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett, and the sets by the brilliant Howard Bay. Mr. Shumlin directed.

This information is, I am afraid, about as important as the play itself. We have come to expect, from Mr. Shumlin, plays that are far above the ordinary Broadway level; plays that carry some significance and the stamp of artistry; and generally, if Mr. Shumlin cannot find such a play, he does not produce for the mere sake of production, or for the box office alone.

The Great Big Doorstep is aimed straight at the box office; at a particular sort of box office, in the bargain. It is supposedly about the Cajuns of Louisiana, people of Acadian (Nova Scotian) ancestry, who live among the canebrakes and bayous. No doubt they offer excellent material for a play, be it serious drama or sympathetic comedy. *The Great Big Doorstep* has been rather generally taken as a sample of the latter. Actually it is a farce with slices of slapstick. To me at least the funniest thing in the whole play was the characters' speech. Only Dorothy Gish attained even the faintest semblance of Cajun dialect; the others, with one exception, spoke imitation southern, while the only genuine Louisianan in the cast had sedulously rid herself of all traces of bayou inflection or even of southern accent. The sets were authentic but you can't establish an atmosphere with sets alone. Nor can you portray Cajuns by saying "Oui, oui" and "God-dog" every few lines, or pronouncing *"court-bouillon"* two different ways, both wrong.

The truth is the play is not really concerned with the *mores* or character of Cajuns. It moves around the highly dubious and certainly archaic notion that "shiftless" people are inherently funny. The Crochet family is a sort of higher class Tobacco Road group. Father digs ditches. Mother fusses and frets about her six children. Father does not dig very assiduously, even when there is digging to be done. He'd rather eat. And since he eats more than he works, he suffers from an upset stomach all the time (or so he says). But he has big dreams—he wants a good house. One of his boys has fished a great big doorstep out of the Mississippi River and the family schemes to get a house to go with it.

They finally get it, and it's true that you sympathize with their struggles and are happy for the unexpected circumstance which brings about their success. You may also learn to like them. The audience, however, laughs at them more than with them—at their "shiftlessness," their clothes, their comic-strip fights and misunderstandings, and in particular at the father, a burlesque sort of Micawber played by Louis Calhern, who does nothing to make the role less noisy and obvious than it was written. Dorothy Gish achieves some dignity as well as genuine charm and humor, while Joy Geffen, as Evvie, the younger daughter, does an excellent piece of acting. Since the play itself is not intended to be serious, one cannot get very serious about it. Just the same I want to register my objection to laughter evoked by poverty, frustration, and ignorance. Mr. Shumlin is—on his record—one of the few Broadway producers who is really concerned about the world's increment of poverty, frustration, and ignorance—and the oppression that causes them. That is why I wish he had not produced *The Great Big Doorstep*.

ALVAH BESSIE.

★

HORTON FOOTE is a young playwright who writes about his own Texas small-town background. *Only the Heart,* his fourth play to be produced by the American Actors Company (at the Provincetown Playhouse), concerns a middle class family which is nearly destroyed by Mamie Borden, a woman who

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compensates for her personal maladjustments by becoming the best businesswoman in town and, by the end of the play, the richest. For the two acts of the play she makes everyone completely miserable. The center of misery is her daughter Julia, who is forced into marriage with a "promising" boy at the expense of happiness with a penniless one. Mamie has already ruined the happiness of her husband and her sister. The former is a beaten man, whose attempts to save his daughter come to nothing and who solves his problem by getting out. But the sister is made of stronger stuff, and she persuades Julia to quit and live her own life. Mamie is left alone with her acquisitions, her memories, and the bitter symbol of her husband's frustrations —his Negro mistress, who lives in the house at the back.

Mr. Foote writes honestly and seems to know his people. But he is better at characterization than construction, and as drama the story sags very early under the weight of bickerings, quarrels, "scenes," the bulk of which are merely repetitious. There is endless talk, and Mrs. Borden does her act much too often. The expose of her well known neurotic pattern and of certain superficial middle class standards is all to the good. But the play is static much of the time, in spite of the fact that Mrs. Borden never leaves anyone alone for a minute. The direction is monotonously shrill, and Miss Hilda Vaughn's interpretation of Mrs. Borden, though intelligent, becomes monotonous from the same defect. Freemond Hammond, Jaqueline Andre, and Constance Dowling, besides being sympathetic characters, relieve the tension by better balanced performances. In his next play Mr. Foote should perhaps let the psychotic take second place to something more theatrically durable—at least for him—on the stage.

HELEN CLARE NELSON.

Screen Spookery

Supernatural horrors in "The Cat People" —and elswhere.

TO ANALYZE entertainment trends properly, it is often necessary to leave the field of literary critic for that of the scientific psychologist. *The Cat People,* a neat little piece of spookery, might be discussed on an artistic basis for pages without shedding any light on its real significance—which is as a piece in the jigsaw puzzle of psychological reactions to the war. One must add, to *The Cat People,* the flood of other films dealing with the supernatural; the rash of novels and tales of a similar nature; the emergence of "scary" radio programs and weird comic books; the revival of medieval charlatan-prophets such as Nostradamus; and the nauseating extent to which the cruel quackery of astrology is now flourishing, before one realizes the prevalence of supernatural explanations of political and social events. The mythopoeic faculty of mankind is much in evidence today; that is, men here and there are dreaming up demons. And they are also having increasing recourse to magic to solve problems easily which can only be really solved through scientific hard work. That a metropolitan paper can, at this moment, print horoscopes and character analyses through handwriting is sufficient proof that some people still fall for witchcraft.

It is easy to dismiss such manifestations as crack-brained; easy to point out that no trained intelligence will think twice about such stuff. But, comparatively, there are not yet enough trained intelligences in the field of scientific analysis of world events. The trained political thinker could map the inevitable course of fascism toward this war; yet he is one among thousands who only know that they were going along quietly, minding their own business, when suddenly everything went black.

Thus the present revival of all sorts of superstition is a reflection of man's terror of the unknown, the incomprehensible. To minds lacking political understanding, it may be natural sometimes to ascribe Hitler's behavior to evil spirits in the air. For more people than we realize, our nights are peopled by dark shapes that lurk just outside the electric light.

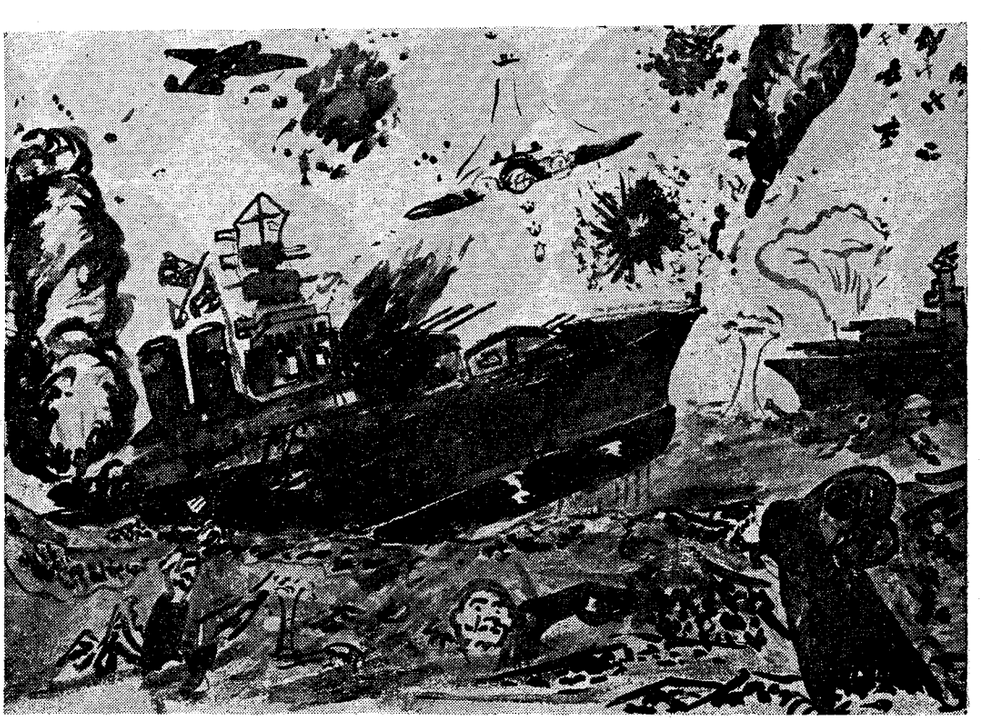
Hence films like *The Cat People.* To healthy minds, the cat is a tough, gay, independent, and charmingly graceful little carnivore; to superstitious minds, it is a symbol of the devil and the associate of witches. The cat people are descendants of medieval Serbian devil-worshipers, gifted and cursed with the faculty of turning into huge cats when stirred by emotion—hate or jealousy or even love. A refugee Serbian girl, trying to escape the curse, falls in love and marries, but does not dare to consummate the marriage for fear of becoming a cat and destroying her husband. Nevertheless the metamorphosis takes place; little Simone Simon becomes a large black snarling Thing and tears people to ribbons. Her chief victim, incidentally, is a psychiatrist who, like many other Hollywood portrayals of psychiatrists, is very much a sorcerer and charlatan.

At any rate, our cat-girl is routed in the orthodox manner by a cross and the name of God, and comes to a sticky end. The details of the film are beautifully worked out; there are no grotesque transformation scenes, merely a hugh black shape that lurks just out of sight. The cat-girl chases another girl down a dark street; you hear the click of her high heels getting faster and faster. Then, abruptly, you hear nothing. Then you get goose-flesh.

The skillful treatment, however, is irrelevant to the value which *The Cat People* has for its audience. Its dark monster personifies the lurking terrors of a world crisis not understood; in destroying poor Simone the film points the way to a supernatural vanquishing of these terrors, and the audience feels better, not knowing why. There are indications that the god from the machine is about to reappear in our theater.

No doubt this vicarious vanquishing of the unknown does the audience some good. But the war itself is not dismissed so easily. The terrors come back reenforced, and the audience is as far as ever from understanding. In 1453 Constantinople believed that legions of angels would appear at the last moment and save the city from the attacking Turks. Today the Turks still own Constantinople. It is not too much to ask the movies—since they are growing conscious of their educational function—to put a little more emphasis on common sense and scientific explanations of the evil in the world. In ordinary times the horror film is merely a pleasant shiver; just now it can be demoralizing.

JOY DAVIDMAN.



"Shipwreck." A watercolor from an exhibit, "Children's Painting and the War," recently at the Museum of Modern Art, NYC, now touring the country. The above was painted by a child from the Claymont Public School, Claymont, Del.

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